Daily Report

East Europe

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Some BSP Deputies To Support No-Confidence Vote

AU2105121293 Sofia BTA in English 0939 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 21 (BTA)—MP's of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) proposed today that the BSP-led parliamentary group discuss the motion for a no-confidence vote on the government headed by Lyuben Berov. The initiative for the discussion came from Angel Dimov MP, known as a hard-liner. The parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) tabled a motion for a no-confidence vote on the cabinet two days ago, following an incident in front of the parliament building last Thursday [13 May] when police hit with a baton SDS floor leader Stefan Savov. "Our motives for a no-confidence vote are entirely different from those of the SDS," Stoycho Shapatov MP of the BSP told BTA. According to him, the MP's of the BSP are dissatisfied with the cabinet's failure to change agriculture policy as it had pledged, and check "the ongoing stripping and selling of assets in the sector." A member of the Social Democracy Alliance, a radical wing of the BSP, described the idea as "laughable." Angel Dimov said 43 MP's of the BSP had backed up the idea, while an MP of the Social Democracy Alliance said they were only six. The cabinet can be overthrown by a vote of 121 against it. If some 40 MP's of the BSP support the 80 or so MP's of the SDS, the no-confidence vote will pass.

Georgi Markov, who left the parliamentary SDS two months ago and is known for his criticism against the union's top leadership, moved in parliament that a referendum be held on the attitude to the majority system in parliamentary elections. Markov argued that with the majority system the electorate will be clear as to whom they elect. Proportional representation was employed in the latest parliamentary elections in October 1991, while the previous elections, in the summer of 1990, were held on a mixed—majority and proportional representation—system.

Zhelev Receives Kuwaiti Minister, EC Observers

AU2005195393 Sofia BTA in English 1800 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 20 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev today received Kuwaiti minister of state for housing affairs and communications, Habib Jawhar Hayat, who conveyed a message from Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah. The shaykh of Kuwait expresses willingness to promote bilateral relations which gained a fresh impetus at the recent Bulgaria-Kuwait summit meeting, president's spokesman Valentin Stoyanov told the press. President Zhelev made an official visit to Kuwait in late April.

"We had several proposals from Kuwait for cooperation in housing construction and communications which will be further specified," Minister of Territorial Development and Construction Khristo Totev said after today's meeting at the Office of the President.

President Zhelev received the Zagreb-based EC monitoring mission. Mission leader Eric Scoff said he was highly pleased by the mission's work with the Bulgarian authorities, the president's Press Office said. Ambassador Scoff said Bulgaria was suffering astronomical losses due to the sanctions against the former Yugoslavia. He said the conflict could be resolved bypeaceful means only. President Zhelev familiarized the guests with Bulgaria's stand on the Yugocrisis.

President Zhelev received Ambassador Bernardo Jurlina of Croatia, who reiterated President Franjo Tudjman's invitation to Dr. Zhelev to visit Croatia. President Zhelev was informed that several bilateral agreements would be signed in near future. The sides discussed the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the president's Press Office said.

World Bank Delegation Visit Reported

AU2005194693 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 20 May 93

[Excerpts] Sofia, May 20 (BTA)—A World Bank mission led by Michael Wiehen, director of the Country Department comprising Bulgaria, today held talks with members of the National Assembly Legislative, Finance and Budget and Economic Committees. [passage omitted]

Later today the World Bank delegation met with the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Trade Valentin Karabashev, cabinet ministers and the governor of the Bulgarian National Bank [BNB].

The Bulgarian parliament is holding the key to further support from the World Bank, which expects it to pass the National Budget Act and tax laws as soon as possible, the Council of Ministers Press Office cited Mr. Wiehen as saying.

According to Mr. Wiehen, Bulgaria is expected to speed up the privatization process, maintain financial stability, sign an arrangement with the International Monetary Fund, complete the banking and land reforms and review its social policy.

Mr. Wiehen cited reasons for not releasing the second tranche of the agreed World Bank loan to Bulgaria: The lack of a favourable macroeconomic environment and the slow fulfillment of World Bank requirements.

The cabinet members familiarized the guest with problems in various sectors of the Bulgarian economy as a result of the observance of the embargo on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The BNB governor said the banking reform was making progress and the mergers of state-run banks would be completed by the year's end, without discrediting private banks. The bank supervision rules will be ready soon, he

said. The government and the BNB expressed their common view the bad debts of state-run companies should not be settled by a separate law, as it may delay their settlement for a long time.

Cabinet Approves Military Agreement With Turkey

AU2005184193 Sofia BTA in English 1500 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 20 (BTA)—The government approved a Bulgarian-Turkish agreement for military and technical cooperation at a regular meeting today. It was signed in Sofia on March 11 and envisages cooperation in the development and production of military equipment. Bulgaria and Turkey will buy jointly designed or produced equipment and will sell jointly produced articles to third countries. The five-year agreement can be extended automatically for one year. Either side can terminate it at 90 days' written notice.

The cabinet decided to propose to the National Assembly to ratify agreements between Bulgaria and China and a mutual investment promotion and protection agreement between Bulgaria and Switzerland.

The cabinet approved a draft programme for cooperation in culture, education and science between Bulgaria and Nicaragua in the 1993-95 period.

The Council of Ministers granted permission to the warship Belknap of the U.S. 6th Fleet to make a port call at the Black Sea city of Varna from June 18 to 22. The warship Angara of Russia was given an identical permission for the May 25-30 period.

National Assembly Amends Land Act

AU2105100293 Sofia BTA in English 0847 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 21 (BTA)—Late last night parliament passed on second reading amendments to the Land Tenure Act. The act, passed in early 1991, has been amended on several occasions.

The amendments envisage the restructuring of the debts of former cooperative farms (the collective farms set up in the 1950's and 1960's, following the example of Soviet Kolkhozes) and of their successors into public debt. The Liquidation Councils (running the farms until the land is restored to owners) will be appointed and dismissed by the minister of agriculture, at the suggestion of Regional Agriculture Offices and in coordination with mayors.

A paragraph was added to Article 10, which regulates property rights over land included in town-planning schemes. The paragraph regulates the rights of persons, who received vacant lots now subject to restitution to former owners. Such persons retain ownership unless they have other property in the same population centre or miss the law-regulated deadline.

This paragraph forced dissatisfied MP's of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) out of the debating chamber. In a special declaration passed later last night, the faction said the amendments, which would take away property restored to pre-communist owners and return it to former apparatchiks, were anti-social and amoral.

Yet the majority backed the amendments, saying they would affect a small number of people. In cases the land cannot be returned in its physical boundaries, pre-communist owners will be compensated with land from the government or municipal stock, said the chairman of the National Assembly Agriculture Committee Hasan Ali of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS).

Agrarian Party members and sympathizers, who are staging protests in Sofia, displeased with the progress of the land reform, also oppose the amendments.

UK Donates Sanctions Enforcement Equipment

AU2105080693 Sofia BTA in English 2050 GMT 20 May 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, May 20 (BTA)—The British Government donated to the Bulgarian customs authorities a shortwave radiocommunication system worth 50,000 dollars to be used in the enforcement of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. The equipment will be delivered in late June.

Representatives of the Ministry of the Interior, the judiciary and the government today decided to set up a Consultative Council for Organized Crime Control.

Twenty-one Bulgarian observers, including staff officers, will leave for Cambodia in June, it was said at a briefing at the Defence Ministry today. 24 Bulgarian UN peacekeepers of the battalion in Cambodia have not renewed their contracts and will return shortly. Five Bulgarian peacekeepers were killed in Cambodia in the last two months and several soldiers were wounded.

A Defence and Armed Forces Bill has been submitted to parliament, it was said at the briefing. According to the bill, the length of military service will be reduced from 18 to 15 months. The bill envisages three-year alternative service. Its sponsors propose that a military insurance and a health insurance fund be established in the Bulgarian Army.

In a special statement today Mikhail Ivanov, president's adviser on national, ethnic and religious affairs, denied having interceded on behalf of any religious community registered in this country. His reaction comes in response to statements by Khristofor Subev MP of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and Metodi Spasov, former chief of the Religious Faiths Directorate with the government, that Ivanov interceded for the registration of the Krishna consciousness community. "I believe the

allegations in the three newspapers aim to cover up the true culprits for the current state of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church," said Mikhail Ivanov. [passage omitted]

Commercial Bank Inc.—Veliko Turnovo and the District Court announced the first four auctions for mortgaged real property but no bidders turned up, BTA's local correspondent reported. The branches of First Private Bank, First East International Bank, Post Bank and Stroybank in Veliko Turnovo are also going to invite bids for mortgaged personal and real property.

The National Civil Committee defending the Monument to the Soviet Army in Sofia today appealed to the president, the prime minister and the minister of the interior "to go on applying the law steadfastly and wisely, to put into practice the government's decisions and guard the monument until parliament declares a moratorium on monuments." [passage omitted]

Military doctors from Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey and Romania will meet in Sofia on May 21 and 22. They will discuss the organization of medical support for the military, the role of the Armed Forces' medical service in the elimination of aftereffects of major industrial accidents, and prospects for cooperation among the military medical establishments of the countries represented at the meeting.

Four Bulgarian dams have been registered as potentially dangerous to population centres, roads and farms, according to a report to the Standing Committee for Protection Against Industrial Accidents and Disasters in the Kurdzhali Municipality (southern Bulgaria), BTA's correspondent reported from Kurdzhali. [passage omitted]

Parliamentary National Security Committee Meets

AU2005114893 Sofia BTA in English 2114 GMT 19 May 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, May 19 (BTA)—[passage omitted] The National Assembly decided to hold an extraordinary plenary sitting on May 25 in connection with the visit of King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sophie of Spain to Bulgaria. The motion, made by National Assembly Chairman [title as received] Yordan Shkolagerski, was carried by an overwhelming majority. The king of Spain has been invited to make a speech in the Bulgarian Parliament.

The Bulgarian Parliament continued the second reading of the Land Ownership and Land Use Bill. Representatives of the Town of Honour, organized by the agrarians in protest against the slow pace of the agrarian reform and in defence of the Land Act, handed a letter of protest to Kadir Kadir, deputy chairman of the National Assembly. It is insisted on not making any amendments to the Land Act which, though imperfect, guarantees the restitution of land within its physical boundaries to its former owners. Any changes in the act are tantamount to a willful delay of the land reform and deprivation of farmers from their property, the protesters' letter says.

Parliament elected Maksim Stanev Sirakov as chairman of the State Insurance Institute. He was nominated by the government. Giving in his resignation, the former chairman ceased to perform his duties in September last year. So far Mr. Sirakov has been deputy chairman of the State Insurance Institute.

Today Parliament elected six generals as jurors for the Military Division of the Bulgarian Supreme Court.

At today's closed meeting the Parliamentary National Security Committee considered some topical problems arising in connection with the latest developments in the Balkans. The meeting was attended by General Brigo Asparukhov, director of the National Intelligence Service, and Colonel Plamen Studentkov of the Intelligence Agency of the Bulgarian Army's General Staff. The MP's heard Colonel Stefan Kurshev of the General Staff who informed them about the condition of the Bulgarian peacekeepers in Cambodia and the situation there. [passage omitted]

The results of a poll conducted by the National Strike Committee of the Teachers Trade Union show that teachers are not inclined to proceed with effective strike action, a press conference was informed today. Only 2 percent of the teaching staff are prepared to block the current school year.

The Alliance for Social Democracy (ASD), a radical platform in the Bulgarian Socialist, formerly Communist, Party (BSP) disagrees with the policy of the Executive Bureau of the BSP Supreme Council because it tends to depart from the principles of social democracy, a press conference was told by ASD members today. At the latest congress of the BSP the ASD refused representation in the Executive Bureau. The ASD leadership believes that the motion of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] parliamentary group for a vote of nonconfidence in Prof. Berov's government is sheer brinkmanship. [passage omitted]

A group of experts of the Western European Union is continuing its visit to the Danubian town of Ruse. The group is studying the area for the purpose of monitoring navigation along the Danube. [passage omitted]

Suicide rates have grown by 10 percent compared with 1991. There were 1,519 cases of suicide in Bulgaria in 1992, the greatest is the increase of suicides committed by elderly persons over 60 years of age, BTA learned from the Press Service of the Ministry of Health. [passage omitted]

Statistics Show Signs of Industrial Recovery

AU2005184093 Sofia BTA in English 1454 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 20 (BTA)—The Bulgarian economy is showing the first symptoms of a slight recovery in sales and of arresting the decline in production, the spokesman of the National Statistical Institute (NSI) Dimitur Fratev told a press conference today. Without making categorical conclusions, he said the decline in the state-run and cooperative sector in April was 5 percent from April 1992. This is a reason for hope: A pickup of production may be expected over the next few months, according to Velichka Rangelova, department boss at the institute.

The positive trends, however, are seen in some sectors only. In others, things look far less rosy. In the foods industry, April sales dropped by about 26 percent, due to the loss of markets abroad and to lack of raw materials, especially in stock-breeding.

The sales of industrial goods declined by 11.4 percent over the first quarter of 1993. Sales rose in the electricity and heat power supply industries (at comparable prices), the coal and oil industries, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the cellulose, paper and printing industries. Beside the foods industry, a tangible, 35 percent decline was registered in the toolmaking industry. A certain stabilization of sales has been seen in the chemical and petrochemical industries, with sales dropping by merely 4 percent over the quarter, and in the electrotechnical industry and electronics, where sales dropped 7 percent.

Absence of Ministers in Cabinet Criticized

AU2105104193 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 May 93 p 10

[Evgeni Gavrilov commentary: "Government Continues To Be Incomplete"]

[Text] It appears that Lyuben Berov's cabinet will not be completed in the near future. A long time has passed since the moment when addressing all Bulgarian people on television the prime minister promised that the cabinet will be completed within one week and ministers of foreign affairs, trade, transportation, and labor and social welfare, will be appointed. The week passed a long time ago, and the prime minister's words are hanging in the air.

In mid-April the prime minister gave an official news conference on the cabinet's first 100 days. Then he said that it is very difficult to find candidate ministers, who could be approved by all three parliamentary factions. Berov excluded the deputies of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], because even if he proposed to them to elect God, they would vote against him.

April passed, mid-May is here, and the ministers' chairs are still empty. At the end of 1992, when many people were offered ministerial posts, no one wanted to assume the risk and accept the offer. Now it is easy to get a ministerial chair. I do not agree with any reshuffling of the cabinet, Deputy Prime Minister Neycho Neev recently said.

Perhaps all members of the cabinet really are very active and diligent, but against the background of the situation in the Balkans it is abnormal to have a cabinet without a foreign minister. This equally applies to the Ministries of Trade and of Transportation. Our country indeed appears to be mostly affected by the sanctions against former Yugoslavia, and the last two branches will apparently suffer most losses.

A special governmental commission was created, which should deal with the implementation of the UN Security Council resolutions on former Yugoslavia. It is headed by Deputy Prime Minister Matinchev. Simultaneously, he is minister of labor and social welfare, and chairman of the National Council on Tripartite Cooperation. Time will show the benefit of creating such a commission, but it is not a realistic situation when one and the same person deals with the most important domestic political issue—cooperation with the trade unions—and the most important international issue at present—the implementation of the UN resolutions and decreasing Bulgaria's losses as a result of the sanctions. Let us hope that the ancient saying, according to which when something is doomed to fail it is best to create a commission, will prove wrong in our case.

Klaus on Talks in Germany With EC Officials

LD2005195093 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 20 May 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by correspondent Katerina Kasparova; place not given; "late this afternoon, today"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kasparova] Mr. Prime Minister, when I spoke to you immediately before your departure for Aachen [Germany], you told me that we were a little bothered by the European Community and that you were going to deal with this topic by having talks in Germany. After your visit, is it possible to say that the European Community will be bothering us a little less, that you have managed to agree on something?

[Klaus] It would be a wounderful world if there had been a chance that just one visit, a wave of a magic wand, could change something. This is not the case. [passage omitted]

The topic of all the speeches and talks was Europe. All are experiencing a certain disquiet, a certain complication of the situation. Everybody thought that the breakup of communism would mean that we would breath a sight of relief. But it has rather complicated matters, because as long as there was a divided Europe, there existed a clear, tangible, and big enemy. Now that it has disappeared, a certain vacuum is developing. This is what all the debates, all the talks with all the people who were there were about.

So, one got to speak to German politicians, Mr. Delors, Gonzalez, Lubbers, Vranitzky, and Lalumiere from the Council of Europe. I hope that all these meetings are aiming at [word indistinct] and that they will provide information about us, how we feel about these matters.

[Kasparova] Exactly 24 hours ago, while standing precisely at the same spot, you indicated that the fact that you and President Havel went on this trip together should provide a certain signal for the outside world. Have you managed to clarify certain rumblings that you mentioned in this connection?

[Klaus] It was a good thing, I think. The statement [word indistinct] of the Hungarian ambassador to Bonn is symbolic. He greeted me and said: How nice of you to turn out here with Mr. President. In our country, in Hungary, the fighting between parties has reached such proportions that something like this would be almost impossible. And so, I feel that in this respect we do not retain a narrow weltanschauung dictated by our party affiliation. So, I feel it was a good thing.

Zieleniec Says WEU Membership Policy Objective

LD2005175793 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] The Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec described the development of relations with the Western European Union [WEU] as one of the priorities of Czech foreign policy. In his address at the Rome session of the union's consultation forum, he said that the Czech Republic would like to find a certain level between its present consultation status vis-a-vis the union and between fully-fledged membership in this organization. According to Minister Zieleniec, Prague is interested in intensifying its relations with the WEU, for example, through closer contacts with working groups attached to WEU's permanent representative council and through deepening contacts on the parliamentary level. It would be possible to discuss direct military contacts too.

Government Requests Explanation of Meciar Remarks

LD1905163193 Prague CTK in English 1357 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 19 (CTK)—Czech diplomats today handed a note to Slovak representatives requesting an explanation of statements made by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar on the possible discontinuation of oil supplies flowing to the Czech Republic via Slovak territory, the Czech Foreign Ministry announced today.

The ministry is disquieted by Premier Meciar's statement, at least by its wording published in the German weekly "DER SPIEGEL", as such a statement anticipates possible forcible steps which would damage both the Czech and Slovak republics' prospects, ministerial spokeswoman Lucie Pilipova said.

Such measures not only would not support the two states' bilateral relations, but would also impair their efforts at quick integration into European structures, Pilipova stressed.

In an interview published by "DER SPEIGEL" on May 17, Meciar said that the Czechs should not forget that all the energy they are provided with flows through Slovakia. If a breakdown in oil supplies occurred, they would not be able to hold out more than ten days. Meciar said this in reaction to Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus' statement that Slovak claims to a certain portion of the former federal gold reserves are absurd.

Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec said on television last night that the tone used by Meciar in "DER SPEIGEL" was absolutely unusual.

The note was handed by Czech Deputy Foreign Minister Alexandr Vondra to the representative of the Slovak diplomatic mission in Prague, Jozef Stank.

Parliament Approves Final 1992 Budget Figures

LD2105085193 Prague CTK in English 0837 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Prague May 21 (CTK)—The Chamber of Deputies expressed approval last night for final 1992 budget figures which list 1992 revenues at 251.3 billion crowns (aver 8 billion USD) expenditures at 253 billion crowns

(over 8 billion USD) and an overall deficit of 1.697 billion crowns (over 50 million USD).

The deputies also took into consideration the final accounts of 1992 Czech Republic state funds: The positive state balance came to 4.8 billion crowns (about 160 milllion USD), and the negative state balance totalled 24.2 billion crowns (about 800 million USD). At the same time, economic budget results at regional offices and communities were also discussed and the deficit registered in the state final accounting of the federation for last year in the amount of 7 billion crowns (about 240 million USD).

The Chamber of Deputies agreed with compensating the 1992 state budget deficit for the Czech Republic in the amount of 1.697 billion crowns (over 50 million USD). The Czech portion of the state federal budget deficit for last year would also be compensated at 4.667 billion crowns (about 155 million USD).

Deputy Svatomir Recman (left bloc, LB) proposed speeding up the submitted bill to change budget rules so that the republic's position towards creditors, including debt services, would be clearly expressed in individual state debt budget chapters.

Another suggestion was forwarded by Jozef Wagner (Czech Social Democratic Party, CSSD) that a complete overview of state active and passive balances on January 1, 1993 be submitted by July 31.

Coalition Meeting Tries To Forestall Problems

AU1905133493 Prague CTK in English 1413 GMT 17 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 17 (CTK)—The main purpose of today's meeting of the so-called coalition Thirteen is to bring coalition party discussions into harmony with the views of the government before Tuesday's [18 May] session of parliament, said Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus at a press conference today.

The meeting will be attended by the chairman of the parliamentary parties, the chairman and deputy chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, and the chairmen of the coalition parties' parliamentary groups. The coalition partners have agreed to hold regular meetings before each session of parliament.

Klaus said that today's discussion should help prevent unnecessary conflicts among coalition deputies in parliament.

The most problematic points of this session will be the new tax, social security, and land ownership laws, Klaus said. He noted that the government and parliament should not give in to strong pressure groups which want the lowest taxes and premiums and which have a strong voice and access to the media. It is necessary to see this matter in its entirety and to protect citizens from the tactics of these groups, Klaus said.

Christian Democratic Party (KDS) Chairman Vaclav Benda said that the coalition deputies had voted chaotically at the last session of parliament. Josef Lux, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), said that today's meeting should help prevent misunderstandings within the coalition at the next parliamentary session.

* * *

Oldrich Kuzilek, chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) parliamentary group, said today there are signs indicating that the ruling Civic Democratic Party (ODS) intends to recall the Czech Council For Radio and Television Broadcasting.

Speaking after a meeting of the chairmen of the coalition parties' deputies' groups, Kuzilek said that the ODA as well as the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) would not consider this a fortunate move. He said it would be inappropriate to express non-confidence in the Council after the parliament recently elected its three remaining members.

ODA Chairman Jan Kalvoda said that not all the coalition parties hold the same view on the activity of the Council as an independent body. He said that the ODA is in favour of maintaining the Council and is against its politicisation.

At its March session, the parliament rejected the first report by the Council on the state in the field of radio and television broadcasting. The ODS now insists that a new version of the report be discussed by the parliament during its session this week, while other coalition parties believe that the report should not be included in the session's agenda. By law, the parliament could recall the Council members if it rejected the second version of the Council's report.

After the coalition meeting, Klaus said that in most cases, the coalition would proceed according to government proposals of laws at Tuesday's session. He added that he did not believe that the session would be one hundred percent painless, but that he hoped that the larger disagreements or problems which arose at the last session would not be repeated.

Klaus said that the coalition was united in its support of government proposals for new laws on taxes and social security. Conflicts among coalition partners over the law on land ownership are also being worked out, he said, noting however that this law has not yet been discussed by the most important parliamentary committees. The government would doubtless withdraw the law if it differed significantly from the original proposal, he added.

Reportage on Meciar Visit to United States

Meciar on Ties With Czech Republic

LD1905215993 Prague CTK in English 1922 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Washington, May 19 (CTK)—The Czech and Slovak republics are oriented toward cooperation and good relations which cannot be allowed to degenerate into tensions and threats against sources of energy, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said today at a press conference.

He was referring to the controversy surrounding recent comments of his in the German weekly "DER SPIEGEL", in which he allegedly said that the Czech Republic would not hold out more than 10 days if Slovakia cut off its supply of oil from Ukraine. Meciar is presently on an unofficial visit to the United States.

According to Meciar, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus was horrified at the oversimplified version of Meciar's comments reported in Czech newspapers, but when he was given the authentic version, he saw that the situation was completely otherwise. Upon seeing Meciar's words quoted out of context, Klaus thought the two countries had reached a situation from which there was no way out, Meciar added.

Meciar also said Slovakia would raise its armaments production from the current 10 per cent to 50 per cent of 1989 levels. This decision took into consideration the case that no one from outside gave us anything, and there was no interest in privatising arms factories, he said.

In regard to pressure on Slovakia from the International Monetary Fund to devalue its currency, Meciar said a devaluation is not necessary because the Slovak economy has been doing better since Czechoslovakia split than anyone expected. The IMF delegation arrived armed with certain data, but once there discovered the situation to be otherwise. IMF representatives will begin negotiations this month on Slovakia's admission to the IMF, he added.

Meciar also called upon the World Bank to grant credits which would enable Slovakia to stabilise its currency and make it internally convertible.

Meciar also accused certain Hungarian politicians, such as Istvan Csurka of the ruling Hungarian Democratic Forum, of wanting to create a greater Hungary. He pointed also to Hungarian Premier Jozsef Antall's statement that he was premier of 15 million Hungarians (which would include the half million in Slovakia-ed.). Slovak Hungarians have only one premier, and that is himself, Meciar said.

Meciar admitted that extremist voices are to be heard in Slovakia too, but not at high government or party levels. Slovaks have lived with Hungarians for 1,000 years and most of them were good, he added, even though the Slovak nation was sometimes on the verge of extinction. He mentioned in this connection the participation of Hungarian units in the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, and added that it would be a problem for Slovakia if nationalist parties won in Hungary's elections next year.

Meets U.S. Senate Majority Leader

LD2005184193 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 20 May 93

[Excerpts] Peter Susko has been following the itinerary of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in the United States. Today, Meciar met with Senate majority leader George Mitchell. [passage omitted]

[Susko] On the subject of the region's security, Vladimir Meciar said that the set-up of Europe after World War II is, in his view, long gone. Europe alone must find the answer to its future, but not without the participation of the United States. Slovakia would welcome it if the United States would guarantee its borders. We will be pleased if the U.S. sphere of influence does not stop on the Slovak border, Meciar said.

Asked whether we want to join NATO, the Slovak prime minister gave a straight and short answer: Yes, we do.

As for the Hungarian minority problem, Vladimir Meciar said the problem is not caused by the Hungarian minority but by Hungarian policy. [passage omitted]

There has been talk about the possibility of Vladimir Meciar personally meeting with President Bill Clinton today.

Meets With IMF Executive Director

LD2105082393 Prague CTK in English 0602 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Washington, May 21 (CTK correspondent)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and International Monetary Fund (IMF) Executive Director Michel Camdessus discussed a credit worth 90 million USD for Slovakia to stabilise its currency, but the final decision will depend on the results of an IMF mission to visit Bratislava May 27.

Slovak Deputy Premier Roman Kovac, who accompanies Meciar on his five-day unofficial visit to the United States ending today, said the credit would be granted under more favourable terms planned by the IMF for post-communist countries.

Camdessus will visit Slovakia in July, Kovac added.

Unlike the first IMF mission, which visited Slovakia earlier this year and which demanded a 30 per cent devaluation of the Slovak crown, the new mission will not come with any proposals, but will assess the situation on the spot and only then will it make decisions, Kovac said.

Massimi Russo, IMF director for Europe, who took part in the first mission, admitted that the mission had not had exact data on the situation in Slovakia, Kovac said.

Pledges More Troops for Bosnia

LD2105083293 Prague CTK in English 0622 GMT 21 May 93

[By unidentified CTK correspondent]

[Text] Washington, May 21 (CTK)—Slovakia is ready to send more troops to UNPROFOR units in the former Yugoslavia if necessary, Premier Vladimir Meciar said in talks with U.S. representatives on Thursday.

Meciar, on a five-day unofficial visit to the United States ending today, met yesterday with Senate Democratic Party majority leader, House of Representatives Speaker Thomas Foley and Deputy Secretary of State Clifton Wharton.

Jan Lisuch, secretary of state in the Slovak Foreign Ministry, told CTK that Slovakia thought that an open field war would not lead to any positive and quick solution to the problems of the former Yugoslavia.

Settlement could be brought about by sending international units to the area and the establishment of buffer zones between the fighting parties, Lisuch said.

A meeting between Meciar and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher was also considered, but could not be realised due to Christopher's busy programme, CTK learnt from a source at the State Department.

Zlocha: Completion of Gabcikovo Dam Was Illegal

AU2105104493

[Editorial Report] Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 17 May on page 13 carries a 2,000-word article by Environment Minister Jozef Zlocha entitled "They Respond to Accusations; Standpoint by the Ministry of the Environment on the Problem of the Gabcikovo Hydroelectric Power Station." In the article, Zlocha responds to the accusation that decisions made by the Slovak Ministry of the Environment regarding the completion of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power station were unlawful and "damage the interests of the Slovak Republic." The dispute between the Slovak Ministry of the Environment and the builders of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power project is also the subject of a 500-word Karol Wolf commentary, entitled "A Section of the Gabcikovo Dam Was Built Without a Permit," in Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 14 May on page 9.

Zlocha opens the article in REPUBLIKA by saying: "In the last few days, several articles have appeared in the press informing in a distorting manner on the activity of the Slovak Ministry of the Environment and its territorial bodies in the matter of the completion of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power station on the territory of Slovakia. A report has also been published on a submission to the General Prosecutor's Office, filed by Engineer Pavol Martinicky, requesting investigations into breaches of law and damage to the interests of the Slovak Republic by the Slovak Ministry of the Environment. The Slovak Ministry of the Environment deems it necessary to respond to these pieces of misinformation and gross accusations on the basis of facts documenting the true approach by the Slovak Ministry of Environment (and its predecessor, the Slovak Commission for the Environment) and its territorial bodies thus far."

Zlocha goes on to review the history of the Slovak Environment Ministry's decisions regarding the Gabcikovo project. He stresses that it formulated a list of 19 conditions that the investor of the project had to meet to prevent or eliminate the project's negative impact of the environment. As Zlocha points out, "there exists a number of written documents, in which the investor accepts these tasks and pledges to ensure their fulfillment, including deadlines. Therefore, one cannot agree with the recently published statements about the alleged illegitimacy or irrelevance of these tasks."

The minister continues: "From the chronological viewpoint, the fulfillment of the 19 conditions could be divided into three stages—conditions that had to be met prior to the commencement of the project (all of these conditions had been met), conditions that were to be met prior to the issuance of a building permit for the remaining sections of the so-called temporary solution, and conditions that can be met only after the completion of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power project. The environmental bodies note that some of the conditions that were to be fulfilled prior to the filling of the reservoir [in October 1992] had not been fulfilled by the set deadline. The prognoses for the development of the quality of the Kalinkovo, Samorin, and Rusovce-Ostrovne Luky water resources were completed only in January 1993, and the prognosis for the development of the quality of the Gabcikovo water resource was finalized by the investor only a few days ago. Another fundamental condition—the drafting of measures to protect water resources in line with the conclusions of the finalized prognoses—was fulfilled only in March 1993. Likewise, the problem of the network of Danube branches and of eliminating negative impacts on the ecosystem of the wetland forests was resolved only at the beginning of May. On the basis of these facts, the investor's claim, declared repeatedly since October 1992, that all the conditions had been met in due time therefore does not hold water."

Minister Zlocha then takes issue with some of the "optimistic views" on the environmental impact of the Gabcikovo project, based on the first six months of the dam's operation. He concedes that the monitoring of water quality in the first six months of Gabcikovo's operation has not demonstrated any "significant changes" but believes that it would be premature to conclude from this that the project is "absolutely problem-free" also in terms of its long-term environmental

impact. In this context he cites a study by Professor Halek, according to which the reduction in the level of underground water could start making itself felt only after about eight years.

In conclusion, Zlocha reiterates that the decision by the water management bodies not to issue a building permit for the Gabcikovo investor last October was justified, as not all the conditions had been met. He appeals to the investor (the "Vodohospodarska Vystavba" state enterprise) not to "dramatize and politicize" the issue and to settle its disagreements with the ministry in a "business-like working atmosphere." In an apparent reference to the article by Julius Binder, director of the Vodohospodarska Vystavba state enterprise, in the 11 May issue of REPUBLIKA (second referent item), the minister also argues that no "higher principle" of Slovakia's national interest can justify disrespect for laws.

In his MLADA FRONTA DNES commentary on the suit initiated by Engineer Pavol Martinicky against the Slovak Ministry of the Environment, Karol Wolf says that this legal dispute "has brought to light what had until now been a public secret—that a section of the dam across the Danube at the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power project had been built without a building permit." Wolf believes that this revelation will damage Slovakia's position at the upcoming proceedings before the International Court of Justice in The Hague, to which Hungary and Slovakia have referred their dispute. He says: "When the Hungarian side casts doubt on the legality of the dam in The Hague, the Slovaks will have to concede that this problem has not been resolved even at home. After that, the other Questions need not be analyzed at all and the court proceedings could end very qUIckly."

In conclusion, Wolf says: "The question remains how the investor could build without a permit in the first place. Only one explanation offers itself—namely that he had tacit consent from the government. The ostentatious lack of interest shown by the Slovak Government during the construction of the dam and its references to the federation's jurisdiction over this matter thus appear in a much clearer light now."

SDL Leaders Call For Early Elections

AU2105132093 Prague CTK in English 1222 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Bratislava, May 18 (CTK)—Early parliamentary elections in Slovakia would waste neither time nor money, unlike the protracted rule of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), Deputy Chairman of the Democratic Left Party (SDL) Pavol Kanis told a press conference today.

The one-party rule system has already outlived its usefulness and only a government with broad political support could lead Slovakia out of the current crisis, Kanis said.

SDL Chairman Peter Weiss criticised the method of establishing the Slovak Supreme Inspection Office (NKU), which he said should have been decided upon by the parliament, not by the government. In view of the discussion over filling the post of NKU head, Weiss did not rule out the possibility of a stalemate in case that parliamentary parties reach no accord. In no case the SDL will back any HZDS candidate, Weiss stressed.

Those who expect the SDL to adhere to principle, will live to see their expectations in this case, Kanis noted.

The SDL congress to take place in Zilina, Central Slovakia this weekend, is to complete the SDL transformation to a party with a social democratic orientation, Weiss said. The envisaged SDL economic programme will seek a way out of the crisis in which Slovakia currently finds itself, he added.

Kanis said that the congress is also to adopt a SDL own foreign programme to be based on the principle of a pan-European cooperative security system.

National Bank Privatization Support Program

AU1805150493 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 May 93 pp 1, 2

["ip"-signed report: "Support for Exports and Privatization"]

[Text] Bratislava—The new system of financial support for Slovak enterprises should stimulate exports. The National Bank of Slovakia vice governors, Marian Tkac and Marian Jusko, disclosed this at a news conference that followed the bank board meeting yesterday.

It is a matter of credit covering a temporary shortage of funds. The commercial banks will provide, upon assessment of the project, a credit to the customer and issue a bill of exchange that in turn will be purchased by a branch of the central bank. A credible evidence of the eventual placement abroad of the goods—eg. a letter of credit, or a contract signed by the customer and his partner—is a necessary condition. The funds are advanced for a maximum of 180 days. The interest rate will equal the discount rate multiplied by the factor of 1.3. So far, no limits or framework have been imposed on the amount of the National Bank of Slovakia bills of exchange purchased.

The board of the bank approved the principles of the credit support for privatization. The issue will not have a definite effect on the currency, and should not affect its stability. The credits will be provided beginning 1 June, according to the bills deposited by the National Property Fund in the National Bank of Slovakia. The account will not be opened until the commercial banks receive the first payment from the customer. The National Bank of Slovakia will determine the amount of credit. That is an important measure as it will enable citizens to purchase property, and thereby accelerate the privatization process.

To the PRAVDA question of how all the regulations included in the law on bankruptcy and settlement would affect the currency and credit systems, Marian Tkac said that it certainly will have an impact on the banking sphere. That means, above all, the coverage of all losses resulting from bankruptcies and sales of property. It is expected that the commercial banks' reserves, the largest creditor, will not suffice. The draft amendment will curb the effect of the law and distribute it over a more acceptable temporal horizon.

Vice Governor Marian Tkac briefed reporters on the developments in the sphere of foreign currency reserves. On 1 January 1993, the foreign currency balance of the Slovak Republic showed $1.131 billion, and it declined subsequently. Following the implementation of the National Bank measures, the reserves improved to reach $1.1508 billion on 11 May. The commercial banks had at their disposal $359.7 million in reserves on 1 January 1993, and $533.8 million on 11 May. The difference between the total sum of foreign currency holding and the amount of commercial banks reserves equals the foreign currency and gold reserves of the National Bank of Slovakia.

The amendment to the Payments Agreement defined today, 15 May, as the day of balancing the claims and obligations between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. On 13 May, the Slovak Republic had a deficit of 1.328 billion clearing korunas in the old bloc (before 8 February) and a surplus of 2.7398 billion Slovak korunas in the new bloc (at the exchange rate of 34.991 Slovak korunas per 1 ECU, this comes to 78.3 million clearing ECU). According to an agreement with the Czech finance minister and the Czech National Bank, the balance of the two blocs is to be calculated on 15 May. Thereby, the Slovak surplus will be reduced leaving 1.4 billion Slovak korunas, nevertheless. This should be settled in convertible currency.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 15 May on page 2 in a similar report adds: "As of yesterday, two new banks have been licensed for business in Slovakia. They are the Internationaled Nederlanden Bank Amsterdam, which used to be a branch of the Czech, and now of the Dutch, bank, and the VUB Wuestenrot Bratislava, which conceals a construction saving bank."]

Data Shows Inflation Slowing Down

LD2005210993 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] The performance of the Slovak economy rose in March 1993 compared with February. Prices, inflation, and the cost of living increases continued at a slower pace. One of the more important indicators is the development of consumer prices.

Rudolf Krc, head of the Statistical Office, said at a news conference in Bratislava that the service sector showed the steepest rise in the first quarter of 1993, above all in transportation and communications—fares went up in April—but also in rents. The prices of food showed the slowest rise since December 1992.

The cost of living of all social groups rose by one percent compared with February. When comparing per capita expenses, the statisticians found that the biggest expenses per household member are in families with two children. In the low income category, that is in families with less than 1,700 korunas a head a month, monthly outgoings decreased. We have started to cut down on the money spent on dining out, ladies clothing, meat, and so on. Alcohol and cigarette consumption remained the same, though.

As for foreign trade, the first three months of 1993 ended with a surplus of 1.2 billion korunas. The increase, although slow-paced, of foreign capital in Slovakia is encouraging. In March 1993 the Slovak Republic's trade with the Czech Republic ended in a positive balance of 17 million korunas.

Antall Congratulates Danish PM on Referendum

LD2005192593 Budapest MTI in English 1514 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Budapest, May 20 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall sent a telegram of congratulations to his Danish counterpart P.N. Rasmussen after the European union referendum "yes" result in Denmark, the Foreign Ministry said on Thursday.

Antall said that the Danish "yes" was highly important for the creation of a single Europe conducive to the enforcement of human rights and mutually advantageous economic cooperation.

The referendum success also helps Hungary's EC integration, Antall stressed.

Socialist Party Begins To Select Candidates

AU1905110293 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 18 May 93 p 5

[Edit Csoknyay report: "The Socialists Make a Written Elections Agreement—With Irreproachable Candidates—Will Szuros Be a "Simple" Deputy—Hamori and Nyers Leave Politics"]

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] does not intend to make an election alliance with any of the parties, neither in the first nor in the second round of elections. It would much rather work together with the various interest protection and civil organizations. The party will not make an "entrance examination" for its candidates because it considers this to be childish, but it will set conditions for its future representatives and these will be laid down in a written agreement.

There will be many new people among the candidates but we will also be able to meet those who are already known because the majority of the parliamentary faction will run again in the elections. Party Chairman Gyula Horn gave an interview to NEPSZAVA on the MSZP's preparations for the elections.

According to the plans, the MSZP will have a candidate in all 176 individual electoral districts, Horn said. Selection, that is the autonomous right of the local organizations, is in process at the moment, and one of the basic requirements is that the future candidate should not be suspected of any financial abuse or corruption. They can choose from one to 10 people in each district at the moment, and 10 to 15 percent of the applicants are not members of the party.

Referring to his experiences, Horn also emphasized that "an increasing number of entrepreneurs, lawyers, and physicians would like to participate in the consistent implementation of the economic change of the system as representatives of the left wing but there are still a few real manual workers who would like to enter politics, especially not in Parliament."

A written agreement is made with the candidates. In addition to moral and financial irreproachability, this also stipulates that if the person no longer works in the socialist faction, he will return his mandate to the party. "This statement will have mainly ethical and political consequences," Horn said.

The MSZP does not intend to make an election alliance with any parliamentary or non-parliamentary parties but it would like to work together with the various interest protection and civil organizations, he said. We would like to make a written agreement on election cooperation with the Left-Wing Youth Association, the trade unions of various industries belonging to the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions [MSZOSZ], and with the National Federation of Pensioners, Horn stated. Talking about the debated point of the electoral law, he said that one could consider increasing the entry limit to 5 percent from 4 percent because this way, the chance of the Parliament's work being paralyzed by 20 parliamentary parties could be avoided.

To finish with, Horn said that the vast majority of the parliamentary faction will again run in the elections.

According to our information, Csaba Hamori and Rezso Nyers will definitely not run again, and Laszlo Paszternak and Robertne Jakab will only enter on the trade union and the national minority list. Matyas Szuros—who caused quite a few problems to the faction—will run in his electoral district in Puspokladany since he has already been asked to do this and, according to Horn, he will probably also lead the Hajdu county list. Horn did not wish to talk about Szuros's future position, saying that he fulfills his duties as deputy chairman of Parliament both skillfully and professionally. From other sources we have heard that many people do not agree with Szuros having any position in Parliament in the future.

Editorial Views Relations With NATO

AU2105113893 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 May 93 p 9

[Editorial by Istvan Gulyas: "NATO, the WEU, and Hungary"]

[Text] It is history that the Warsaw Pact was the counterpart of the NATO created by the Western powers. The Warsaw Pact and NATO—two dogs snarling at each other during the cold war, when the fence separating the two dogs was called the iron curtain.

When the "decision level" also realized that Soviet-style socialism was an absurdity, the member states also put an end to the history of the Warsaw Pact. There was peacetime in Central-Eastern Europe then, and the threat of a devastating Balkan war was not even predictable. The politicians in power could only dream of NATO membership in their wildest dreams, and Hungary's security policy concepts were rather obscure at the end of 1990.

Today, the goal has largely become clear: Hungary aims at becoming a NATO member. Taking into consideration the short-term impossibility of this endeavor, Hungary intends to fulfill this intention about the same time as its future EC membership. We already entered the small gate in December 1991: We joined NATO's Cooperation Council, a body created for the former Warsaw Pact member states. Many people compared this with the decision to accept Hungary as an associate member of the EC.

Thus, for a long time, it seemed that everything was all right: Hungary cannot get into a security policy vacuum, and it is not subject to another's provocations or even attacks.

However, we still need guarantees—now more than ever. In view of last week's threats made by Serbian Radical Party's Vojislav Seselj involving the efficiency of Rump Yugoslavia's missiles and in view of the continued lack of settlement in the Yugoslav crisis, the news on NATO's refusal to consider Hungary's demand for security policy guarantees and its request for the purchase of antiaircraft missiles was extremely alarming. Even if the official forums say that no such request took place, and subsequently, no refusal took place.

According to NATO General Secretary Manfred Woerner, "in a given case, NATO would not look on passively" if the war in Yugoslavia spread over to Hungary, too. Is a gentleman's word of honor enough for us? Can we trust this organization that has been practically helpless ever since the internal strife in Yugoslavia became a bloody civil war in 1991, an organization that kept saying for a long time that the Yugoslav crisis was outside of its scope? Can it be a guarantee for us that NATO, this organization that seems to be weakening in the wake of internal problems lately, is now aware of the gravity of this situation?

We are uncertain; the passing time has made us uncertain, and it also makes us uncertain if we think of historical examples. There was no NATO in Ferenc Rakoczi's time; nor was there any NATO in 1848-1849. However, our country, which was in a critical situation at the time, received plenty of promises but no practical help. Naturally, this comparison is strongly exaggerated, because the situation in Europe and the historical situation were quite different then; nor would it be right to claim that Hungary is in a critical situation today. The chances that this armed conflict could spread to Hungary are rather slim. Nevertheless....

Those who no longer have confidence in NATO or those who are simply seeking another solution keep mentioning the Western European Union [WEU] as another alternative. For the time being, however, there are rather unclear ideas about the WEU, or more exactly about its future concepts; perhaps the ministerial meeting of the WEU starting in Rome today will also make some progress on this subject matter.

NATO and the WEU? NATO or the WEU? Two questions that need answers as soon as possible.

Solidarity Warned Not To 'Play With Fire'

WS2005114993 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1000 GMT 20 May 93

[From the "Wiadomosci" newscast]

[Excerpts] This morning a general strike began, declared by the Solidarity branch of Mazowsze region. During his meeting with Maciej Jankowski, chairman of Mazowsze Solidarity, President Lech Walesa warned unionists not to play with fire.

[Begin recording] [Reporter Jan Szul] [passage omitted] At 1000 GMT Maciej Jankowski, head of Mazowsze Solidarity, met with President Lech Walesa. [Walesa] Gentlemen, I would like you not to play with fire, because if you play too hard, all of us will have to pay for it, including yourselves. I will not save any companions, any friends. Poland must not be set on fire.

[Jankowski] If there is a meeting such as that proposed by Siec [a group of pro-president Solidarity factory committees], that is, a meeting between Solidarity and the Sejm leadership, during which we would present with our evaluation of the situation with our proposals directly to the deputies, then I will take part in it. [end recording]

Lech Walesa, in an interview for the Polish Press Agency, said that if the parliament recalls Suchocka's cabinet and does not form a new one, he will want to form a presidential government.

OPZZ Signs Agreement With Miners Union

LD2005131793 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1200 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Our Katowice correspondent has sent us a dispatch on an agreement signed between the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ] and the Union of Miners.

[Unidentified reporter] It is the highest time to make decisions jointly concerning the issues of the whole country, said OPZZ chairwoman Ewa Spychalska just after she signed the agreement with representatives of the Polish Miners Trade Unions in Katowice.

According to Jan Kisielinski, chairman of the union, the agreement will make it possible for the miners to oppose the policies of the currently ruling elites.

The sides have undertaken, among other things, to support their possible protest actions.

Transportation Union Joins Mazowsze Strike

WS2105110693 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 0600 GMT 21 May 93

[From the "Panorama" newscast]

[Text] The general strike in the Mazowsze region has been joined by the trade union of the Town Public Transportation Company [MZK] and Solidarity's public transportation union. At 0400 [0200 GMT] the buses and trains did not go on their routes. Very few buses can be seen. Waiting passengers are being picked up by temporary public transportation, which has been arranged by the municipal authorities. The unionists do not want their company to be divided, and are demanding more subsidies from the authorities of Warsaw. They also want to know specifically who is going to be the main transportation company in Warsaw in the future.

General Strike Threatened Over Vote on Government

LD2105140093 Warsaw PAP in English 1341 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Katowice, May 21—Leader of the Solidarity trade union Marian Krzaklewski on Friday said that the union will stage a well-organized general strike if a no-confidence vote motion in the Hanna Suchucka government turns out to be unsuccesful or if Solidarity's demands are ignored by its next partner in negotiations.

Krzaklewski did not rule out that the next partner would be Poland's president.

According to Krzaklewski, the Suchocka government rejects a compromise in negotiations with Solidarity. He believed that there is no possibility of reaching an agreement with the government before a motion for a no-confidence vote is examined by the Sejm (lower house).

He confirmed that the general strike currently staged in the Mazowsze region would be probably suspended until a general strike starts.

Foreign Minister Speaks at WEU Forum

LD2005175993 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1600 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Poland welcomes with satisfaction the expansion of the Western European Union's [WEU] activities and inclusion of the CSCE in the activities of the United Nations with the aim of resolving the crisis situation in the former Yugoslavia, declared [Foreign] Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski at the consultative forum of the WEU in Rome. Taking part are representatives of the union and nine Central and East European states.

The head of Polish diplomacy said that Poland was interested in the development of more dynamic relations between the union and countries of Central Europe and expected that that part of our continent would become part of the union's security zone.

Bielecki on Internal Strife, Government Coalition

WS1905084193 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0615 GMT 13 May 93

[Studio interview with Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, minister for integration with the EEC, by Andrzej Wojciechowski; from the "Guest of Radio Z" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Wojciechowski] You are now experiencing tough times. In the eyes of Europe, Poland takes turns taking steps in good and bad directions, announcing the mass privatization program today and ending up swept by strikes tomorrow. How do you explain this surge of strikes to your West European colleagues?

[Bielecki] This might not be a very good comparison, but I usually cite an example of a snake in a tunnel. Although it is winding back and forth, the snake, just like Poland, slowly proceeds in the right direction. Let me illustrate my point with the following example. In 1991, when I frequently met with my counterparts from the Visehrad Group, the only party then in Czechoslovakia split into five new parties; and the country itself has cracked in two—the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The process of transformation surely causes some strains both in politics and in the economy, and lasts longer than anyone can predict.

[Wojciechowski] According to your allegory, the Polish snake today is hitting its head against the tunnel's wall, but still moving forward. Correct?

[Bielecki] Yes. Based on the its long-term goals, Poland must be a democratic, law-governed state. Only this kind of country can become a reliable member of a family of West European democratic states.

[Wojciechowski] Does the above mean that Minister Bielecki is not concerned about the strikes?

[Bielecki] No, you cannot say that. I also had to deal with strikes organized by health care and education workers yet in 1991. As for the latter, we must admit that the Charter for Teachers is a holdover from the previous system and should be eliminated. A reform package in this sphere should affect employment policy, working hours, compensation, and address more precisely the needs of the students. Professor Glebowski proposed some of such changes in the end of his term. As for the health care, we also should realize that we will not get anywhere financing the entire system from the state budget. The KLD [Liberal Democratic Congress] has some proposals on this. This problem must be definitely resolved; otherwise, we will keep haggling over the notorious 100,000 zloty [Z] or Z200,000 every single time.

[Wojciechowski] Your are so positive and calm when you are saying all this. Viewed from another angle, the country is simmering, strikes are around the corner, everyone wants to overturn the government, and no one is even sure whether it will last another week. What do you say?

[Bielecki] In the first place, calls for a vote of confidence do not faze me much—I went through this twice in 1991. This is why I am not worried whether or not this government manages to stay afloat for a while. The most important thing for me is what this government and the Sejm have to offer in this situation. [passage omitted]

[Wojciechowski] Speaking on politicians' ambitions, you said that in this country there was always someone who sees himself as prime minister or vice minister. Is that really so?

[Bielecki] Well, it depends. If you promise me a gold mine, this does not mean that I am supposed to believe in this. One should have common sense and soberly assess his abilities. Sometimes I even have qualms that it was Bielecki who made all this trouble, because I was the first person from outside that was proposed by the president for prime minister. This might have created a precedent: If it was Bielecki yesterday, why can I not be prime minister today?

[Wojciechowski] How long do you think the Suchocka government will last? Is its situation as perilous as the media make it out to be?

[Bielecki] Yes, the situation is difficult. This is a minority government, based on a flimsy coalition and facing a serious showdown. It would make sense to wait and see until the results of a confidence vote. I believe that the government will pull through and come up with new solutions, for which it will have to win support. After all, minority-backed governments operate for several years in some countries. So why should this one not hold on for at least some months? The main thing here is to conduct a divorce in a civilized way.

[Wojciechowski] Based on the media reports, the main thing, too, is the president's attitude toward the government. Almost all the newspapers assert that Walesa has had enough of Suchocka and wants to replace her with someone else. Is this true?

[Bielecki] I think I know the president very well. Here is my opinion. President Walesa wants a good government to be busy with transforming the Polish economy while he peacefully performs his presidential duties. When trouble comes, he starts looking for possible solutions. The fact that he makes decisions singlehandedly and the government consists of seven and the legislature of 30 parties makes this solution even easier for him to find. To make it short, if the Sejm keeps behaving like this, the president may take over the political initiative. The possibility of a president's government, an option allowed by the Constitution, should not be ruled out. However, knowing President Walesa, I do not think that he would want to resort to this immediately. [passage omitted]

[Wojciechowski] What major political parties want early elections? Is the KLD, a party that you are a member of, among them?

[Bielecki] I cannot tell you what the entire KLD wants. But if you ask me personally, I want those elections if only to check my personal credentials. Generally, we can see a split personality here: on the one hand, everyone wants to displace the government; but on the other hand, no one is in a hurry to discuss specific terms of the elections. And who is supposed to govern in Poland in the meantime?

[Wojciechowski] Another significant question that a lot of people are asking today: What has Solidarity—eager to brush away the Solidarity-spawned government—turned into?

[Bielecki] As a man who was close to Solidarity in its toughest days, I watch its tragedy with sadness. It has slid into becoming just a trade union that only makes demands. Unlike in the past, when Solidarity often prompted many positive moves in reforming the system, it has now gradually lost its status of being a reform-pusher. [passage omitted]

Editorial Examines Chances of Government Collapse

AU2105081193 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 May 93 p 1

[Editor in chief Jerzy Wysocki commentary: "The Impasse"]

[Text] The Sejm's rejection of the government report on the situation of the public sector does not place the government under an obligation to adjust policies, but it may serve as a warning against a possible motion for the government to step down. The opposition is capable of bringing about the government's downfall. But if that downfall does not occur, it will be not so much because of the moderation of anti-government streams as because of differences of opinion between them.

These differences of opinion mainly concern attitudes toward Lech Walesa. Some opposition circles might be willing to join a government set up by the Belvedere, but for others it would be out of the question. The intentions of the president himself are not clear. He has still not presented any clear idea on how to emerge from the impasse.

Therefore, one gains the impression that we are facing a crisis not just with the government, but with the entire political scene. No one is able to make a move that would clarify the situation. Perhaps the stock of intelligent suggestions has already been exhausted, and politicians will have to choose a so-called lesser evil.

This lesser evil may turn out to be either a weak, minority Suchocka government, a Belvedere government in conflict with the Sejm, or an unspecified coalition consisting of the current opposition. In such a situation the idea of earlier parliamentary elections could gain more supporters. But that does not mean earlier elections would be a better solution.

Russian, Polish Bankers Discuss Trade

AU2105121393 Warsaw PAP in English 1433 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 19—Russia wants to settle trade deals with Polish enterprises in national currencies and is getting ready to issue relevant legal regulations, it was disclosed on Wednesday [19 May]. Polish and Russian bankers met in Rynia near Warsaw on May 17-19 to discuss the question.

Polish bankers are sceptical about the proposal being convinced that it is more beneficial for the Russian side.

"The Russian plan excludes the possibility of settling government agreements in national currencies. These agreements account for 60 percent of our trade with Russia and it is exactly the possibility of buying oil or natural gas for roubles earned on the export of goods that would be most interesting for the Polish firms," explained Marian Zukowski, the director of the Polish "Progress-A" company which organized the meeting in Rynia.

In the opinion of Polish bankers Russian firms by keeping the Polish currency may avoid the effects of the devaluation of the rouble. Under the present regulations Russian firms are obliged to sell back to their central bank 50 percent of the dollars earned on exports. This rule does not apply, however, to the currencies of the former Comecon states.

According to the expert of Moscow's currency exchange, Aleksei Bernacki [name as received] Poland is not active enough in preparing agreements regulating the possibilities of using national currencies in trade settlements. "Russia has signed such agreements with Ukraine, Bulgaria and other countries. A draft of such an agreement with Poland envisages a full mutual convertibility of the rouble and the zloty on the territory of the two states," he said.

Reduction in Use of Ozone-Destroying Substances

LD1405214493 Warsaw PAP in English 1950 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 14—Poland is reducing its output of ozone-destroying substances faster than is currently required under existing international agreements, Ryszard Purski of the Ministry of Environmental Protection, told a press conference in Warsaw on Friday.

Under the 1987 Montreal Protocol, which Poland signed in 1990, the use of freons is to be gradually reduced from 1994, while halons are to be definitively removed from use after 1995. Poland is not a producer of these chemicals, and has reduced its use of imported freons from 8,000 tonnes in 1986, to 2,700 tonnes in 1991.

Purski anounced that the Environment Ministry was committed to take action aimed at further reducing the production and use of substances harmful to the ozone layer, to the organisation of a system to protect ozone, and the creation of a suitable legislative framework.

Iliescu Reviews Slovenia, Croatia Visit

AU2005164193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0805 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/5/1993—Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, returned to Bucharest on May 19 night, after an official visit to Slovenia and Croatia and a stopover in Belgrade.

The president told the press at the Otopeni Airport: "I would emphasize two essential components: on the one hand, it was a state visit to Slovenia and Croatia, the first of the kind to these two newly independent states after we entered into diplomatic relations. So, the prime purpose was the development of the bilateral relations in spite of the difficulties our relations are going through because of the special situation and of the economic blockade imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which affects also our direct relations with the two visited states.

"The other component would be the contacts and political talks with the six heads of state regarding the situation in Yugoslavia. We all have considered the interviews and exchanges of views as useful. To us, it was an opportunity to get first-hand information and get to know directly every state's view. Obviously, they differ, sometimes the standpoints are opposed both as regards the causes of the conflict and the ways of application of the Vance-Owen plan. What is common to all—a possible starting point for the settlement of the situation—is the fact that all parties assess the Vance-Owen plan as the only alternative. There is no other alternative", Ion Iliescu assessed, "anything else means the aggravation of the war which obviously nobody wants. This common stand is a starting point first of all in the cessation of the fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina and then in the concrete negotiation of the steps that should start the application of the plan. We have found a realistic and constructive approach in this respect also with the Serbian party, so a possibility is in sight for a ceasefire and the establishment of ways of understanding.

"We did not go there with the intention to interfere in the promotion of this plan", the president conclude, "we did not offer new initiatives, considering that the only realistic base is the application of the Vance-Owen plan".

Briefs Turkish, Greek Leaders

AU2105061693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1920 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/5/1993—Thursday Afternoon, 20 May, President Ion Iliescu phoned Turkey's President Suleyman Demirel and Greece's Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis to inform them about the main conclusions drawn after the talks he had recently during his visits to Slovenia, Croatia and Yugoslavia (Serbia-Montenegro).

The Romanian president stressed the idea, as it resulted from his discussions with the local decision-makers, that a solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be the key to settling the situation in all former Yugoslavia as a whole, an opinion practically all his partners of dialogue share, which is all the more encouraging. The assessment was also unanimous, the Romanian president said, that the Vance-Owen plan was seen as the only way to stop the armed conflict and find the means for the full reinstatement of peace in the zone.

The Romanian head of state appreciated the pragmatism of these approaches and encouraged the heads of the visited states to make all the necessary effort to have the provisions of the Vance-Owen plan implemented as soon as possible wherever this was possible.

Vacaroiu Receives World Bank Delegation

AU1905132793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] The prime minister, Mr. Nicolae Vacaroiu, and the minister of state and minister of finance, Mr. Florin Georgescu, received the World Bank mission led by Michael Wiehen, director of the bank's department for Europe and Central Asia at Victoria Place this afternoon.

During the discussions, Prime Minister Vacaroiu presented the actions initiated by the government to continue the reform process, measures regarding financial discipline, limiting the transition costs, subsidy cuts, and the coming introduction of the valued-added tax on 1 July. In this context, the prime minister emphasized concerns with reestablishing the country's financial balance for which the World Bank's assistance is needed. He also stressed that foreign financial assistance is needed for projects and programs and specified that in the six months of governing foreign financing has amounted only to $80 million. In this context, he expressed Romania's desire to finalize—during this visit—the procedures on the second (?installment) of a planned loan.

During the discussions, the sides also broached issues linked to social protection. Mr. Wiehen said that both the World Bank and IMF want to offer Romania access to financial sources. In this context, it was announced that at the beginning of June an IMF mission will arrive in Romania.

Regarding the price liberalization problem, the government spokesperson specified to our editor accredited to the government that the discussions will continue tomorrow at the Ministry of Finance and that the sides expect to arrive at a conclusion.

Romania To Enforce UN Sanctions Despite Losses

OW2005140993 Tokyo KYODO in English 1344 GMT 20 May 93

[By Tim Johnson]

[Text] Tokyo, May 20 KYODO—Romanian State Minister Misu Negritoiu said Thursday [20 May] his country will firmly enforce the United Nations embargo of neighboring Serbia, despite suffering "tremendous" economic losses as a consequence.

"This is injuring the Romanian economy, but it's part of Romania being integrated into the world," said the 42-year-old minister in an interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE.

Negritoiu, who is the de facto deputy prime minister and the main strategist of the government's economic reform program, has been on a weeklong visit to Japan since last Sunday.

He said concerns about further harm to Romania's ailing economy "will not give us any motivation" to engage in sanction-busting, which Bucharest has recently accused Bulgaria and Ukraine of doing.

Doubts had also been raised about Romania's commitment to enforcing the sanctions after a Foreign Ministry spokeswoman said April 28 some sanctions "will take time" to implement.

But Negritoiu said Romania is fully enforcing the embargo, covering a ban on the transport of goods into or across Serbia and Montenegro, a freezing of their financial assets and the monitoring of international traffic on the River Danube, a key supply route to the rump Yugoslav state.

The U.N. Security Council imposed the embargo against the two republics for backing nationalist Serbs in the protracted ethnic war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Negritoiu said Romania has suffered direct and indirect embargo- related losses on the scale of some 7 billion dollars from May 30 last year, when sanctions were first introduced, until the end of last month.

Since April 26, sanctions have been tightened to constitute a total embargo.

Negritoiu confirmed that Romania was among countries calling on the United Nations, the European Community and other benefactors to take compensatory measures, including such indirect help as balance of payments support and funding infrastructure.

He said he asked Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa during a half-hour of talks Wednesday to encourage a group of 24 major creditor nations to help Romania cover its balance of payments deficit, exacerbated by the embargo.

"Hopefully, the U.N. will find some kind of mechanism in order to compensate directly," Negritoiu said. "But I myself don't foresee very clearly how it will be done."

Ukraine, which says sanctions have cost it up to 4 billion dollars in lost trade along the Danube, has proposed the United Nations create an assistance fund or deduct losses of relevant countries from their membership fees or peacekeeping contributions.

Bulgaria claims losses of over 1.8 billion dollars and says it stands to lose a further 2 billion dollars in lost trade and broken contracts, while Greece is seeking 2.6 billion dollars in compensation for losses so far and more for the fresh sanctions.

Romania plays a key role in sanctions enforcement, as traffic on the Danube cannot avoid going through a Romanian lock.

Since the sanctions began last year, Serbia has detained several Romanian ships in a tit-for-tat response to Romania's impounding of Serbian barges.

Negritoiu also said Romania is opposed to international military intervention in Bosnia on the grounds that it would only complicate and escalate the situation, while having damaging consequences for his country.

Vacaroiu Holds Talks With Mexican Delegation

AU1905132193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1211 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/5/1993—Wednesday, May 19 in the morning, Romanian Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu received the delegation of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies—comprised of representatives of all the Mexican parliamentary parties, now visiting Romania—headed by Efrain Zuniga Galeana [name as received].

The Romanian premier expressed his conviction that the relations between the two countries—with a long tradition—would improve substantially in fields like diplomacy, economy, and culture. Premier Vacaroiu informed the members of the Mexican delegation about the progress of the transition process to a market economy in Romania, about the stage of the economy's privatization—a field where the Mexican expertise is appreciated by the Romanian specialists—, and about the improvement of the legislation regarding foreign investors.

The head of the Mexican delegation reasserted Mexico's interest for close relations with Romania, showing that a new convention between the Romanian and Mexican parliaments could be signed on the occasion of Romanian President Ion Iliescu's visit to Mexico, which is awaited with great interest.

Vacaroiu, Belgian Official Discuss Cooperation

AU2005183493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1417 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/05/1993—Romania's prime minister, Nicolae Vacaroiu, and the minister-president of the Walloon Government of Belgium, Guy Spitaels met Thursday, May 20, at the government headquarters.

Issues were approached concerning bilateral cooperation on the basis of the interim agreement of Romania's association to the EC. Romania's premier spoke about a package of laws intended to ensure Romania's aligning to the legislation of the European Communities, and asked Belgium to assist Romania to get integrated into the EC. He presented the opportunities Romania could offer to foreign investors.

Guy Spitaels mentioned that a mission of experts in agriculture, health, transport-communications and trade would come to Romania soon, in order to assess to what extent can this country be backed.

As for the terms of the association contract, he mentioned that discussions were held on the prospects of the Romanian iron processing industry and textile industry on West-European markets and the privatisation system in Romania.

Guy Spitaels, who has come to Romania to attend a meeting of the West-East Committee of the Assembly of European Regions to be held at Deva, had an interview, Thursday, May 20, with Ion Gorita, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Issues concerning Romanian-Belgian relations were discussed on the occasion.

Aspects of international relations were also tackled, with an emphasis on the situation in former Yugoslavia, with reference to the visit President Iliescu paid to the states formed after the dismembering of former Yugoslavia.

Spiroiu Discusses Security System, Army Issues

AU2005183193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0940 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/5/1993—"I consider that the future of our national security and defense is represented by the structures of collective security which are currently underway and will operate in the future", is the opinion of Nicolae Spiroiu, the Romanian minister of defense, in an interview granted to the weekly ARMATA ROMANA [ROMANIAN ARMY]. "I am referring to the CSCE, to actions organized under the NATO and the WEU aegis, with cooperation partners in Central and Eastern Europe, actions aiming to set up a security system in Europe that would gradually turn into a global security system under the United Nations aegis. Even if these structures have not operated quite efficiently, and the situation in former Yugoslavia where conflicts could not be prevented and defused stands as a proof, they are however the sole alternative for providing security. That is why we have opted for an integration within these structures", shows the Romanian minister.

Mr.Spiroiu states his opinion that "we have no reserve as regards an integration into the mentioned structures and this is proved by our participation in all activities with our cooperation partners. In 1992 and this year too, the Romanian Army has undertaken perhaps the largest number of cooperation actions. Even the measures taken for the restructuring of the Romanian Army, for coming closer to the standards of the democratic states, of the greatly efficient armies in the defense of national interests, proves once again our decision to enter the European systems of security. The new structures are so conceived as to grant the Romanian Army a better mobility in guidance and increase its responsive capacity, the capacity of accomplishing constitutional missions assumed by it, and moreover leading to the impact necessary for our contacts within such systems of collective security, systems that we are cooperating with and wish to join."

UDMR Becomes Full Member of European Union

AU2105061393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1848 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/5/1993— "The UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] has been received as a full member of the European Democratic Union" announced UDMR Chairman Bela Marko during a news conference in Bucharest on May 20.

Mr. Marko remarked in that context that the above mentioned organization comprised both Christian-democratic and liberal-conservative parties, two orientations which "correspond for the time being to the political pluralism within the UDMR."

As for Romania's admission in the Council of Europe, the UDMR chairman stated that "the matters related to the minorities that were raised by UDMR agree with the stand of the rapporteurs of the Council of Europe for Romania." In that context Bela Marko showed that "UDMR hails the government initiative to set up the Council of the Minorities, but will decide whether it will adhere to it only after the Council of Representatives meets."

"We have a pragmatic stand as regards that council," Mr. Bela Marko pointed out, "but we are waiting to see if its functioning will be really efficient—and we will find that out in a few months."

The UDMR representatives also reasserted UDMR's desire to stay with the opposition parties which make up the Democratic Convention of Romania.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 21 May
WA2105170993

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Krajina Serb commander's absence causes cancellation of Croatian cease-fire signing ... Halilovic warns Croats to observe cease-fire in Bosnia ... Border controls tightened with Hungary after report of warhead theft ... Muslims, Serbs trade accusations of cease-fire violations ... WHO warns of tuberculosis outbreak.

POLITICAL

CEASE-FIRE SIGNING CANCELED (Zagreb Radio, TANJUG): Scheduled signing of cease-fire agreement between Croats, Krajina Serbs cancelled because Krajina Serb commander "failed to turn up." TANJUG says Croatian Army general also "did not show up" for "reasons of health," speculated that Krajina delegation refused to sign agreement with replacement, insisting "only the two commanders can sign the agreement." (LD2005173693, LD2005222993)

HALILOVIC WARNS CROATS (Sarajevo Radio): Bosnian Army chief Halilovic warns there will be "no peace" if Bosnian Croats continue "to insist" on "disintegration" of Bosnia. Halilovic says Bosnian Army "very strong" in Konjic area, Croat forces that continue "to provoke" Muslim forces "will be obliterated." (AU2005155193)

WARHEAD REPORTED STOLEN (POLITIKA EXPRESS, BORBA): Belgrade dailies report tightening of Hungarian-FRY border after "disappearance of nuclear warhead" from "former Warsaw Pact camp" in Hungary. Warhead reportedly "could contain approximately 100 kg of Uranium 235." (AU2105092093, AU2105110493)

MILITARY

MUSLIMS, SERBS TRADE ACCUSATIONS (Sarajevo Radio, TANJUG): Sarajevo Radio reports Serbian attack on Maglaj causing "horrific situation," Muslims kill "95 chetniks" in defense of Brcko, cease- fire "grossly violated" by Serbs in Olovo, Bosnian Serbs "daily bringing arms and ammunition" from FRY. In contrast, TANJUG reports "fierce assault" by Muslims in Serbian suburbs of Sarajevo, Muslim cease-fire violations in Doboj, Maglaj. (AU2105112393, LD2005105993, LD2005155493)

CIVILIANS RELEASED BUT FIGHTING WIDESPREAD (AFP): UNPROFOR spokesmen report Bosnian Croats freed 1,800 Muslim civilians taken captive during fighting in Mostar but say they have "nowhere to go" and are "wandering aimlessly around town." Spokesmen say that while Mostar is "calm," violations of cease-fires between Serbs, Croats, Muslims widespread. (AU2105125193)

HUMANITARIAN

TUBERCULOSIS IN BOSNIA, CROATIA (AFP): WHO officials warn of "sharp increase" in tuberculosis cases in Croatia, Bosnia since beginning of fighting. "Some 2,500 cases" reported in Croatia, situation "worse" in Bosnia, though statistics unavailable because of strife. (AU2105080993)

Sarajevo Radio Reports Fighting, Halilovic Comments

AU2005155193

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 20 May carries in its regular 30-minute newscast the following reports on fighting in the republic.

Reporting from Olovo, Velid Djindo reports that "all cease-fires signed so far, including the latest [words indistinct] have once more been confirmed by the enemy's activity in this area today. After a short-lived lull, today the tank on the hill shelled civilian targets again. Fierce artillery and infantry fire has been reported along the entire Olovo front. The aggressor used mortars, guns, antiaircraft guns, machine guns, and other infantry weapons. [Words indistinct] stable and holding, while the fighters' morale is high."

The studio announcer reads a report from the Gorazde Press Center which says that "today, new appeals for food and medicine for the people in this area were sent out. In the last 24 hours, the defense lines were targeted several times by enemy artillery."

The Bosnia-Herzegovina 1st Corps press center reports that "after a few days respite, the people of Sarajevo have once more come under fierce artillery attacks by the occupying army." The reporter also says that "the shelling was particularly intense between 1300 and 1400. Mortar, tank, and recoilless gun projectiles from the area of [name indistinct] landed on the very center of the city, Sedrenik, and around the Bristol Hotel. [Names indistinct] were shelled by mortars. On three occasions around 1300, the chetniks used chemical agents on [word indistinct], on Pasino Brdo, the suburb of [name indistinct], and around the main bakery. The population was unharmed. Since the chetniks are randomly opening fire on civilian targets, and are now using chemical agents, the citizens are warned to limit their movement."

An unidentified Army Press Center correspondent reports from Mostar that "the agreement reached in Medjugorje, regardless of all the difficulties and the frequent overnight provocations, is slowly giving results in Mostar. The morning and the day are a lot calmer, while the joint operative center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], the Bosnia-Herzegovina Interior Ministry, the Herzeg-Bosnia police, and UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] has started work. This center is supposed to take care of many things having to do with the realization of the Medjugorje agreement." Citing Sefer Halilovic, the commander in chief of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the reporter said that "as far as the armies are concerned, the Medjugorje agreement only confirmed the agreement from Zagreb, but there are many new things regarding the political solution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina problems, which will be commented on in greater detail by the politicians. The other thing that the Army put as a condition for further implementation of the agreement was the request for an unconditional release of all captured civilians. As is known, the HVO has sent several thousand Muslims, women, children, old people to concentration camps from the areas that it controls. We have concrete evidence that the HVO fighters are guilty of committing atrocious crimes, murders, and pillage." He goes on to say that "according to our information, the HVO released all captured civilians last night, but they are still keeping many people aged 18 to 30 which the HVO considers soldiers, probably with the intention of exchanging them. According to Halilovic, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has not captured a single civilian, and will release all HVO soldiers in accordance with the agreement. Halilovic said that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army would withdraw only when enough police patrols were on the streets of Mostar. These patrols, in accordance with the agreement, should be comprised of members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Interior Ministry, the Herzeg-Bosnia police, and UN police. Once these mixed police patrols guarantee the safety of the citizens, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units will withdraw to their barracks. The patrols should secure the road Metkovic, Mostar, Konjic, and the road Posusje, Gornji Vakuf, Novi Travnik, [name indistinct]." The reporter adds that Halilovic "expressed his belief in the realization of the things agreed upon, particularly in the resoluteness of General Morillon and the commander of the Spanish battalion to implement the Medjugroje agreement. If the HVO really wants peace, it will have it, but there will be no peace if the HVO continues to insist on the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia, and the division and disintegration of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Halilovic also stressed that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is very strong in the Jablanica and Konjic region, and if the HVO continues to provoke the Muslim forces in Mostar, the HVO units and those quasi-state authorities that the HVO has established will be obliterated. He added that he hoped that the truly great Croat people will find the strength to distance themselves from the crimes that some of the HVO units committed in central Bosnia and recently in Mostar."

The studio announcer reads a report from the North Herzegovina Operations Group, which says that in "a village in the municipality of Prozor, all Muslim houses have been burned. In the town itself six more houses were set ablaze, while the HVO forces harassed the civilian Muslim population. The mountain villages of Here, [name indistinct], and (?Stipe) are under constant Croat Army long-range artillery fire." The announcer adds that "the cease-fire is holding in Gornji Vakuf. The result of the negotiations is the unhindered flow of traffic from Gornji Vakuf to Bugojno, while the road leading to Prozor and Novi Travnik is still blocked for [words indistinct] UN vehicles and humanitarian organizations." He adds that their correspondent (?Arif Asic) denies the press center report of an attack on the Interior Ministry building in Gornji Vakuf by HVO units."

'Hand-to-Hand Fighting' Reported in Brcko

LD2005204193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] The Serbs are continuing their aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Hand-to-hand fighting is under way on the Brcko front this evening—in Bajici, Lipovac, Brod, Brodusa, Suljagic Sokak, Licki Most, Rijeka, and Dizdarusa Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio reported. In Serb attacks on residential buildings four persons were killed and 12 wounded.

Serbs Reportedly Shell Maglaj, Doboj

LD2005204493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Maglaj came under Serb artillery attack today and Serbs also fired mortars on positions of the defenders of Doboj. They also pounded the Zavidovici area. The enemy is reported to be regrouping and bringing in fresh equipment. Howitzers and tanks were used in attacks on Celic, Tuzla municipality, where five persons were killed and 10 were wounded. Olovo was also shelled today, Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio reported.

Serbs Say Muslims Violating Cease-Fire in Sarajevo

LD2005155493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1500 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Sarajevo, May 20 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem troops launched a fierce assault on Sarajevo's Serb-populated section of Grbavica somewhat after noon local time on Thursday [20 May] in what was their worst violation of the May 9 ceasefire between the local Serbs and Moslems.

In less than half an hour, more than twenty 82-mm shells hailed down on Grbavica, and the attack continued past 2 p.m. No word was immediately available about casualties, but the devastation is extensive.

Moslems shelled also the densely-populated Novo Sarajevo. The Serbs did not return fire.

This is the second Moslem attack in the past two days. Two civilians were killed and eight were seriously wounded in a Moslem mortar attack on Grbavica on Wednesday afternoon.

The Bosnian Serb Army command at Bileca, eastern Herzegovina, said on Thursday that Moslems had on Wednesday violated the ceasefire several times in the area of Kalinovik, north of Bileca, shelling the area and particularly the village of Ljusica from mortars.

The source said that Bosnian Serb troops had on Wednesday evening neutralised a Moslem scouting and subversive group in the Kalinovik area, which had tried to reach the village of Boljanovici.

There was no major fighting on Wednesday on the other sectors of the Herzegovina front, the Bosnian Serb Army Command said.

Report Violations Around Doboj

LD2005105993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1033 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Doboj, May 20 (TANJUG)—Moslem formations are violating the ceasefire signed by the Bosnian Serb and Moslem representatives on May 8.

Local Moslem troops on Thursday [20 May] opened artillery, mortar and infantry fire at Serb villages and Bosnian Serb military positions round the northern Bosnian town of Doboj, Bosnian Serb military sources said in its communique.

Moslem troops opened fire at Bosnian Serb villages and military positions in the Maglaj area, near Doboj, the communique said.

Moslem troops on Thursday also attacked the Bosnian Serbs round Teslic and Zavidovici, the communique said.

Croat-Turkish Mission Arrives in Mostar

LD2005213193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] The Croatian-Turkish goodwill mission arrived in Mostar late this afternoon. It was received in the building of the [HVO—Croat Defense Council] General Staff by the assistant head of the HVO defense department, Slobodan Bozic. Let us recall that Vladimir Seks [Croatian deputy prime minister] and Mustafa Aksin are heading the mission.

This is Vladimir Kumbrija reporting.

Following lengthy talks, Vladimir Seks told us: We have achieved good results. I spoke over the phone with the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Alija Izetbegovic, and urged the release of both Croat and Muslim detainees. He promised that Croat political leaders from Zenica and Konjic would be released as well as 16 HVO soldiers captured by the Bosnia-Herzegovina army.

I also demanded, Seks added, that the mission visit central Bosnia. As far as UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] is concerned, it is highly unlikely that they will provide escort, but President Izetbegovic said over the phone that he would do everything to enable the mission to [brief break in transmission] Prozor, Vitez, Konjic, and other places.

We are tomorrow due to visit the left bank of the River Neretva in order to try to ease Muslim-Croat tensions through talks, so that they can turn against the common foe, the Serb aggressor, Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Seks concluded.

Barred From Some Areas

LD2005190393 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Good evening. A session of the Defense and National Security Council is underway. The session is discussing the results of the Medjugorje meetings, that took place at the initiative of republican President Franjo Tudjman.

According to information that the council has received while in session, the Croatian-Turkish goodwill mission is in the part of Mostar under control of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. It cannot enter the part of the town under the control of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army forces, because these forces have not yet allowed the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] to enter both that part of Mostar and Konjic.

The council has also received information that HVO forces in Mostar have released all the people, who were temporarily detained because of clashes in the town, but the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has not yet released the detained Croats despite promises made in Medjugorje.

Muslim Forces To Free Captured Croatian Soldiers

AU2105110593 Paris AFP in English 1032 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Zagreb, May 21 (AFP)—Moslem forces were to free 40 captured Croat soldiers Friday [21 May], following the release of hundreds of Moslem civilians from a factory near Mostar.

U.N. officials in Zagreb confirmed that all the Moslem civilians detained in a helicopter factory near Mostar, in the south of Bosnia-Hercegovnia, had now been freed by Bosnian Croat forces.

A spokesman for the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was unable to say precisely how many civilians had been freed, but estimates varied between 600 and 1,800. The detainees, among them women and children, had been taken captive last week by Croat forces following fighting around Mostar.

UNPROFOR officials said Moslem forces would free 40 Croat soldiers held in Mostar, but said the were unable to say how many people in total had been detained by Moslem forces in the city.

The spokesman added that he did not know if there were any other Croat detention centres.

Violent fighting between Croats and Moslems in the area had continued since May 9 until a ceasefire came into force Wednesday which the UNPROFOR spokesman said had been generally respected.

The ceasefire, which started Wednesday at midday (1000 GMT) between Croat and Moslem forces around Mostar, seemed to have held, he said.

"The situation is generally calm although sporadic bursts of gunfire were heard in the town in the night."

In Belgrade, the news agency TANJUG announced that a ceasefire between troops of the mainly Moslem Bosnian army and Serb forces had been broken by a Bosnian mortar attack on Bijela, 70 kilometres (40 miles) south of Sarajevo.

Further south Croat forces opened fire on Serb positions near the region of Capljina-Stolac, 30 kilometres (18 miles) southwest of Mostar.

According to Serb sources quoted by Tanjug there was further fighting in the north east of Bosnia when Moslem forces launched a mortar attack on Serb positions at Brcko. The town lies on a corridor connecting the areas under Serb control in the west of Bosnia with Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Problems Reported in Mostar Prisoner Exchange

LD2105014193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2212 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, 20 May (TANJUG)—The press center of the Muslim Army in Mostar announced today that all the civilians detained at Mostar heliport had been released but that the fate of prisoners elsewhere was not known, Sarajevo Radio reported this evening.

Sarajevo Radio claimed that according to the Medjugorje agreement, the Croatian side was today supposed to release civilians detained in other locations in Mostar and outside the town. The men who were being treated as POW's were also not released, as the agreement envisaged an exchange based on the "all-for-all" principle.

Sarajevo Radio also reported that "according to certain information," the imprisoned soldiers were brutally tortured and that there is fear for their lives.

Karadzic Compares Bosnian Serbs To Israelis

TA2105075093 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0500 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Radovan Karadzic, the leader of Bosnia's Serbs, said in an exclusive interview with IDF Radio that if the international community does not take positive action within a short period of time, the Serbs in Bosnia will declare independence. Our foreign affairs correspondent Yaron Ben-'Ami spoke with Karadzic:

[Begin recording] [Ben-'Ami] Radovan Karadzic has for a long time played the role of bad guy in the eyes of the West. He is perceived as the man igniting the fighting spirit of the Serbs in Bosnia and putting off any attempt to attain a real peace agreement. Nevertheless, Karadzic was willing to assure IDF Radio that within a month there will be peace in Bosnia.

[Karadzic, in English] Yes, I hope so, I hope so, but there are three sides to the conflict, and they have to commit

themselves to the peace. That's the problem. We are ready to stop any activity, and we have stopped it, and I propose to the United Nations to deploy personnel to monitor who is violating the cease-fire.

[Ben-'Ami translates the above and continues] Karadzic is aware of the fact that such assertions notwithstanding, the West is still contemplating military action against Serbia and the Serbs in Bosnia. In such an event, Karadzic said, there will be a Serbian reaction, but definitely not the kind of reaction mentioned by Ratko Mladic, the commander of the Serbian Army. We will not bomb London, Karadzic said. At the same time, he asserted that if the West does not adopt positive action within a short period of time to solve the crisis in Bosnia, the Serbs will declare independence.

[Karadzic, in English] If the international community does not encourage this development in terms of the Lisbon conference, then we have to declare our own independence.

[Ben-'Ami] Such a declaration of independence, if it comes, will be based on the referendum held this week in Bosnia. Karadzic emphasized that the results of this referendum were not a slap in his face. He said he was prepared to lead the Serbs in Bosnia to peace any time—on his own terms, of course—and he found a point of affinity with Israel, of all countries.

[Karadzic, in English] We are living like Israelis. We are in the same surrounding. We have the same kind of enemies and the same kind of cheats, and I am sure Israeli people would understand us. [Ben-'Ami translates the above] [end recording]

TANJUG: U.S. Plane Carrying Izetbegovic Ordered Returned

LD2005181093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1733 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 20 (TANJUG)—A U.S. transport plane with Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic on board was returned to Zagreb airport 20 minutes after take-off on a Sarajevo-bound flight on Thursday, said the Muslim-controlled Radio Sarajevo.

The only information the radio could give was that the U.S. Army Command had ordered the plane to land, although the United Nations had authorised the flight.

The plane carried 24 passengers—political and economic officials of the Muslim government, Izetbegovic among them.

Army Official Explains Sarajevo Demilitarization Plan

AU2005185693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 May 93

[Report by Senada Simic]

[Excerpt] The negotiations between the representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the aggressor on creating protected areas around Srebrenica, Zepa, Tuzla, Bihac, and Sarajevo have been going on for about a month now. In regard to the Sarajevo zone negotiations, which are due to resume on Monday, Jovan Divjak, deputy commander in chief of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, says:

[Begin Divjak recording] Based on the proposal by the aggressor, which insisted that we hand over [words indistinct] the city, to our proposal that Resolution (?804) be respected, the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] proposed an agreement stating that the aggressor should, based on the provisions and decisions of Resolution 824 concerning the separation of the aggressor and the units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, withdraw to such a distance from the city, (?from) which we will receive food and water. The process will be long, and I do not believe that the aggressor will accept the UNPROFOR proposal. Namely, the proposal says that parts of the town that are occupied, such as Nedjarici, [word indistinct], Trebevic, [words indistinct], that is to say between [words indistinct]. We will strive for the full implementation of Resolution 824. [end recording]

Divjak clarified UN Resolution 824, which deals with the protection of cities. It is significant that according to this resolution, Bosnia-Herzegovina is the only recognized state in this area, and that the Serbian military and paramilitary units are branded the aggressor. All weapons of 12.7 caliber and larger have to be concentrated in positions from which the aggressor cannot target the protected cities. [passage omitted]

Motives of Russian Mercenary in Bosnia Explored

93BA1001Z Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 20 Apr p 5

[Interview with unidentified soldier of fortune by Andrey Apostolov, Moscow-Sofia; place and date not given: "Russian Mercenaries in Former Yugoslavia Are Defending the Cross From the Crescent"]

[Text] *He is 32 years old, tall, with his hair cut short and wearing a leather jacket, smoking Camels; he is a former officer and former mercenary and now a simple citizen.*

[Apostolov] How does a former mercenary feel?

[Answer] Let us first set things straight. I do not consider myself a mercenary but a defender of Orthodoxy. Russian mercenaries are volunteers who are fighting in a number of areas in what was formerly the USSR. In former Yugoslavia, however, most fall into the category of idealists, for there it is a question of the struggle between Christianity and Islam.

[Apostolov] Does this mean that you are "Slav fanatics" who are fighting "Muslim fanatics" in former Yugoslavia?

[Answer] That is one way of putting it, although it is not very accurate. In the former Yugoslavia a war is being fought with ethnic cleansing and the Muslim forces are receiving the support of all Muslim countries in the guise of tremendous amounts of money, men, and weapons. A new crusade is necessary to rescue the Slavs unless we want once again to have the flag with the crescent waving over our heads.

[Apostolov] What type of people are fighting in the former Yugoslavia?

[Answer] Former generals and high-ranking officers, former members of the KGB, unemployed men, nationalists, or simply adventurers. Russia has more than enough trained people who have become unnecessary, but their knowledge is valuable on the outside. I, for example, found myself unemployed in 1991. A surplus 30-year-old officer, dislocation and political Bacchanalia, chaos, and several small Yugoslavias in various hot points. At that point I got in touch with the representatives of some organizations that were looking for people to defend Orthodoxy in former Yugoslavia.

[Apostolov] Organizations?

[Answer] Organizations that recruit volunteers exist in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Rostov-na-Donu. Such activities are supported by highly placed individuals, including deputies. Furthermore, their representatives have visited Poland, Slovakia, and Bulgaria seeking support for the cause.

[Apostolov] How many Russian mercenaries are there in the former Yugoslavia?

[Answer] More than 300, but it would be difficult to guess how many mercenaries may be found on the other side of the front line, ready to sacrifice their lives for the crescent. These are not Russians but Muslim mercenaries hired in Chechnya, Azerbaijan, and other Central Asian republics, who are sent to former Yugoslavia with forged passports. One of their routes is via Turkey and Bulgaria.

[Apostolov] How much do they earn?

[Answer] I know that at the beginning they were being offered $3,000 each.

[Apostolov] What about the Russian mercenaries? You, for instance?

[Answer] Russians earn between $700 and $1,500 depending on their skills. The most valued are people with special knowledge of subversive and special operations, and instructors. Part of the money is paid here; another part is paid on arrival and the balance after the completion of the contract. However, there have been problems with payments and the agreed upon amounts are not always paid.

[Apostolov] How did you reach Yugoslavia?

[Answer] Very easily. With forged documents to Budapest and from there to Belgrade. From there I went to a military camp and then to the front. Our group consisted of twelve people, and three months later I followed the same itinerary in reverse with six of them. The others are probably still there.

[Apostolov] What did you do?

[Answer] Subversive activities, ambushes, and training—survival in the mountains, laying mines, and hand-to-hand combat.

[Apostolov] A great deal is being said about cruelties committed in this war....

[Answer] There is a great deal of exaggeration but I can tell you that no prisoners are taken by either side. A person may be captured in taking a settlement but in battle no one tries to take prisoners. I have not seen that happen anywhere. After each battle only the dead remain. Many of them have been executed.

[Apostolov] No great value seems to be attached to your skin.

[Answer] These are rates applicable exclusively to officers with special knowledge. Others earn less. A great deal more is being offered in Nagorno Karabakh, but what they are looking for there are mainly fliers and I am not aware of any of them having been paid the promised $5,000. Employers may be found in the Middle East as well. In Lebanon there was demand for officers belonging to the special subunits of the former KGB, who had specialized in the struggle against terrorism. In that country, however, doing business is very risky and there is always the chance that one would be murdered, as was the case with four members of the "Bet" group of the KGB.

[Apostolov] What are you referring to?

[Answer] The four were hired by the Hizballah to train their men. However, something must have gone wrong because one day they were found in a white Mercedes, filled with bullets and knifed in the heart.

[Apostolov] What a beautiful death....

[Answer] Yes, in a white Mercedes, but so what. They died without any ceremony. So far, no less than 50 Russian mercenaries have been killed in Bosnia, Nagorno Karabakh, and Abkhaziya.

[Apostolov] Do you think that there is an increase in the number of soldiers of fortune in Russia?

[Answer] With the advent of spring, you can rest assured that there will be a real boom in the flood of mercenaries going to the hot spots of the former USSR, for currently thousands of KGB members and members of the special army units are unemployed. The winter is behind us and the bears are waking up.

Serbs Fail To Attend Cease-Fire Talks

LD2005173693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] A cease-fire agreement between the Croatian authorities and local Serbs, scheduled to take place today, has not been signed, as the Serbian side failed to turn up. Despite the fact that the Croatian representatives, Slavko Degoricija and General Petar Stipetic, and the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] representative, Cedric Thornberry, and Serbian representative Milos Zivkovic, turned up in Topusko, their [Serb] commander Mile Novakovic did not leave Knin.

Although disappointed with the fact that the agreement had not been signed, Slavko Degorocija said that Croatia would nevertheless continue to resolve the question of protected zones in Croatia in a peaceful way. Slavko Degorocija said he hoped a meeting between the Croatian authorities and local Serbs would take place on 26 May in Zagreb.

TANJUG Speculates on Absence

LD2005222993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2121 GMT 20 May 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Topusa, May 20 (TANJUG)—The unconditional ceasefire agreed at a meeting of delegations of the Republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia on Tuesday was not signed today because the commanders of the two warring sides did not show up in Topusko, some [word indistinct] km from Zagreb.

Croatian and Krajina government representatives had agreed to sign an unconditional ceasefire by May [date indistinct] which was to be effective until a definite solution is found for implementing United Nations (U.N.) Security Council resolution 802, calling for the withdrawal of Croatian troops from parts of Krajina territory which they attacked on January 22 this year.

As agreed, commanders Brigadier General Mile Novakovic of the Krajina Army and General Janko Bobetko of the Croatian Army were to sign the agreement, but Gen. Bobetko did not show up. Croatian negotiator Slavko Degorocija told a press conference that Gen. Bobetko had not come for reasons of health.

Major-General Petar Stipetic arrived instead, telling the press conference that he had been authorized by Gen. Bobetko to sign the ceasefire agreement.

No reasons were given for the absence of Krajina commander, Gen. Novakovic, but it is believed that the Krajina delegation still insists that only the two commanders can sign the agreement.

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) head of civil affairs Cedric Thornberry told reporters that he did not know why Gen. Novakovic had not come and that he would contact the Knin authorities about this.

The Serbs proclaimed their own republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) in 1991 in areas inside the administrative borders of Croatia where they are the majority population in protest over Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and the degradation of their status in its new constitution from a nation to a national minority.

Serbs Reportedly Continue Attacks in Zadar Area

LD2005135793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 May 93

[Excerpts] Serbian paramilitary formations today continued their attacks on the Croatian Army's positions in the Zadar-Biograd area and villages in its hinterland in spite of all the agreements. Early this afternoon, the Serbs pounded positions of the Croatian defenders in Suhovare, Novigrad, and Podgradina from Zemunik Gornji, Nadin, and Debelo Brdo. In Ravni Kotari, the villages of Zemunik Donji, Galovac, and Policnik in the Zadar hinterland and the hamlet of Zrilici near Rastani in the Biograd hinterland were also pounded.

This morning at about 0700, Serbian artillery shelled our positions in Kasic, which were also targeted at 1200. At the same time, Paljub also came under attack. [passage omitted]

[Begin Prtenjaca recording] Regardless of any possible agreements, the attacks on the city of Zadar and other urban areas in the Zadar area continue. This is precisely why I insist that Mr. Thornberry and Russian Ambassador Kerestedzhiyants exert their influence, do everything, to put an end to these attacks. Otherwise, some other measures will ensue, which of course means the agreement will be reduced to nothing. [end recording]

France Accused of Violating Arms Embargo

AU2105091593 Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 May 93 p 14

[Article by Tihomir Stojanovic: "French Weapons in Croatia"]

[Excerpts] UN Security Council Resolution 713 has introduced a total embargo on sale of arms and military equipment to all parts of the former Yugoslavia. Of course, it never occurred to the warmongers and those who make profit selling death devices to observe the resolution. The UN secretary general warned about the violation of this resolution some time ago. On 30 October 1991, the Security Council issued a statement saying that the embargo was not being respected. The statement particularly stressed the responsibility of the neighboring countries. Because of the violation of Resolution 713, the Security Council on 15 December 1991 adopted Resolution 724, which spells out the mechanism for controlling the adopted decisions.

However, despite the UN resolutions, Slovenia, Croatia, and the Muslims in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina are

arming themselves even faster with increasingly deadlier weapons, which is encouraging and intensifying armed conflicts.

How Ustashas Got Hold of Apilas

Members of the Army of the republic of Serbian Krajina recently made a good catch near Skabrnja. They captured from the Croatian Army as many as 450 pieces of 112-mm light infantry armor piercing weapon, the F1 Apilas. This was done by the First Assault Brigade of the Army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina during a fierce clash with Croatian Ustashas.

The Apilas is made in France by Matra Manurhin Defense. Production started in 1984. [passage omitted]

As we have already mentioned, the Security Council resolutions are not being respected. The seizure of such a large number of 112-mm armor piercing weapons, the F1 Apilas, confirms that France—which has its soldiers in the UN troops on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and its General Morillon is commander of these forces in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina—is also seriously involved in arming Croatia. French politicians and diplomats are the most vociferous critics of all actions by the Army of the Serbian Republic, even its actions against mojahedin to protect their lives and the lives of endangered Serbs. It would be interesting to see whether the French officials could explain how Ustashas got hold of this mighty armor piercing weapons, and whether this represented the "French principled stand" on all culprits of the enormous human suffering in the former Yugoslavia.

Minor Modifications Carried Out

None of the officers or soldiers who captured the armor-piercing weapons knew how to operate the F1 Apilas. However, a solution was quickly found and instructions for using the F1 Apilas were issued. The instructions contain basic information about this powerful weapon and the way in which it should be operated.

Experts also carried out certain modifications and improvements on the sight device. The fighters from the Army of the republic of Serbian Krajina were quickly trained and the weapon became a part of the army's armament. In this way, formerly "friendly" France armed, via Croatian Ustashas, the infantry of the army of the republic of Serbian Krajina with 450 pieces of F1 Apilas and improved the army's abilities to fight against modern tanks from close distance, and destroy other armored targets and bunkers made of reinforced concrete.

We hope that the relevant institutions from the formerly friendly country will tell us whether Security Council resolutions apply to her, or whether it is only a body for punishing Serbs.

Tudjman Urged To 'Renounce' Extremists

93BA1000C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Apr 93 p 12

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "Conflict Between the Red and Black Wings of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union]"]

[Text] Tudjman must renounce the extremists who want to betray and ruin him, just as Pavelic was brought to ruin by his extreme ministers who did not know how to think in terms of the long run. And this must not happen to Croatia again, we cannot allow that. We completely support President Tudjman and his program, but he must take care with whom he associates.

This is how the very harsh and open conflict in the incumbent party was defined in an interview with GLOBUS by Josip Boljkovac, along with Josip Manolic, the informal leader of the antifascist, Partizan, or, it might be said, red wing of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union].

This was the payback of the blow delivered a few days ago in an interview with VECERNJI LIST by Vice Vukojevic, who, along with Defense Minister Gojko Susak, is the leader of the black wing of the incumbent party. Vukojevic said of Boljkovac that he is a ghost from the past. Boljkovac proclaimed Vukojevic the spokesman of a sick group of people who want to take power.

It seems that all the cards are now on the table for the first time. For the first time, the constantly smoldering conflicts of the incumbent party have thus been spelled out in public. This is a sign that they are coming to a head, but also that they can no longer be resolved behind closed doors. For the first time, the opposed groups are publicly defined. Boljkovac talks about his dear friends Nikica Valentic, Franjo Greguric, Mladen Vedrisa, Stipe Mesic, Josip Manolic, and Dalibor Kovacevic, while on the other side are Vice Vukojevic, Gojko Susak, Vladimir Seks, and Ivan Pasalic.

Albanization of Croatia

Those who up to now have had economic enterprise as their sole feature are also in the antifascist group for the first time. Which is no wonder, because the content of Vukojevic's political option was for the first time expounded publicly in his interview. It was previously known that that line, put simply, is close to Ustashism. But now it is also clear what stands behind the demand that all socially owned property be transformed into government property. Vukojevic does not hide his fear of the political implications of privatization. Recalling the last century, he emphasizes Gaj and Strossmayer, who, according to him, brought about a split in the Croatian idea of statehood out of the interest of the bourgeoisie. Croatia, he says, was too small for that damned bourgeoisie, and so they began to create Yugoslavia.

What will the 300 or 400 Croatian families who can acquire wealth do, will Croatia not be too small for them, so that they will seek a broadening of the market in the direction of Yugoslavia? They will not be able to go in the direction of the West, because that requires effort. It will be easier to generate capital in the direction of the underdeveloped Balkans. I see a danger in that, Vukojevic concludes.

"The Anti-Croatian Plot"

Which is to say that his choice is an Albanized Croatia; Vukojevic thus shows himself to be an advocate of the political option of "We will eat grass." He would shut off Croatia, even at the price of penury, just to avoid the danger of a desire, if only for economic gains, to reestablish some kind of linkage in this region. It turns out that the former orientation toward Europe with which Croatia undertook democracy was only an attempt to separate it from the other Balkan peoples, but not a flight from the Balkans in political terms.

Here, the obsession with having our own state is turned into the political option of a Croatia sufficient unto itself. It should be said that it has support in the rather widespread public treatment of the fact that Europe has not behaved the way Croatia expected it to. That is, the way the leaders here constantly said that it would. And in the disappointment that Croatia has been confronted with certain demands which an ethnically overstrained public cannot comprehend. The option of a Croatia that is shut off not only in the economic sense, but also in the political sense has recently been advanced by the sowing of paranoia concerning various world plots against Croatia.

Supposedly, certain countries and peoples, and in the recent past a rather broad group, from the Masons to the president of PEN, are against Croatia. It is rather difficult to say what is contained in the option which Boljkovac represents. It is not in any case fascist, but it certainly is not democratic in the form in which the content of that term is understood today in the Western democracies. The fact that it is represented by two former policemen perhaps says the most about democracy in Croatia, about its dilemmas and possible choice. It certainly is not as homogeneous as the black wing. Its entrepreneurial segment is made up of people whose sole concern is business.

They are not ideologically exclusive, they are simply practical. Just as they once were with the Communists, so now they have joined the HDZ. As people interested in economic reasons, they are inevitably more sober and tolerant, they are not exclusive, they are not extremists. They certainly open up Croatia to the logic of capitalism, but the problem is that too often they behave in the manner of the primitive accumulation of capital.

Indecisive Tudjman

It is a fact that there are stories about them that are difficult to check out. The rumor to the effect that their first concern is for their personal gain, which dangerously destabilizes their position and the public confidence in them.

This is the first time that quarrels in the top leadership of the party have carried over into the public in this way, with crude naturalism. This might mean that this time those in the clinch are too strong to just walk away in silence when they lose, as has been the case up to now. But also too weak to resolve their quarrels where they have been decided up to now, far from the public.

After all, when political battles begin to spill over into the public from their usual habitat, this usually has not been because the participants were lovers of democracy. It has much more frequently been because they need the public as an argument; that is, the space in the wings is no longer sufficient or accessible to them.

Coming out in public is a kind of self-defense or public blackmail. Another reason it is perhaps necessary is that the president is undecided. The fact that recently Tudjman wanted to appoint Vukojevic the new prime minister and changed his mind only when a countergroup threatened to withdraw from the party, and then decided on Valentic, who belongs to a quite different current, indicates that it does not matter to the Croatian president who heads the government so long as he heads the state. However, Boljkovac, by recalling Pavelic, has now precisely defined what kind of danger threatens him there.

Deputy Prime Minister on Conflicts in HDZ

93BA1022 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 7 May 93 pp 19-21

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Seks, by Zeljko Luburovic; place and date not given: "Tudjman Is on My Side"]

[Text] *The deputy prime minister and vice chairman of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], who usually has coffee with his party colleague Luka Bebic, says that he has not bought a single stock share because he has no mind for business, and that he will not run for the post of chairman of his party, because the candidate will be Dr. Tudjman.*

In recent months, a number of events have been linked to the name Vladimir Seks, the deputy prime minister and member of the innermost leadership circle of the Croatian Democratic Community. Newspaper articles have been full of his name, which is usually linked to the conflict within the HDZ. Most often, journalists have lumped him together with the HDZ radicals, conservatives, but some have even placed him among the Bolsheviks. Nevertheless, Seks and his faction within the HDZ have a considerable number of supporters, and the sympathies of many non-HDZ members picked up steam when he decided to comment publicly on the fraud and criminal activity going on in the process of transforming the Croatian economy. Knowledgeable

sources say that the conflict surrounding transformation within the HDZ exceeded the patience of even Dr. Tudjman himself, so that the party had to take a decisive stance on that question. This is exactly why an interview with Vladimir Seks is an opportunity for him to comment on his experience with this intraparty conflict and to say whether the party has learned any lessons from it.

"I would not call this conflict. Perhaps it is a difference of opinion. The attempt to bring about a split within the HDZ leadership has dogged our party from its founding to this very day. If part of the opposition is doing that, then it is completely logical, because it is trying to eat away at the ruling party. That is immanent to the logic of any opposition, just as the destiny of the HDZ is immanent to the logic and destiny of any ruling party. However, certain individuals are intruding on this logical tension between the opposition and ruling party, individuals that can be classified neither as opposition nor as people critical of the authorities. There are two types of people involved here. To one type, any notion of an independent Croatia is foreign. This type of person has remained under cover and sees Croatia only as a temporary reality, while trying to bring about a split within the HDZ leadership through various imputations. The other type of person fits in with the pathology of Croatian society. However, what they are doing to the HDZ they would do to any other party in power in Croatia whose program and goal is an independent Croatia."

[Luburovic] Can you be more concrete?

[Seks] For example, Ivan Zvonimir Cicak fits in with this Croatian pathology. Another one who fits in here is Prof. Dr. Branko Horvat, who fills his entire party newspaper with libelous letters in which he says that the murder of trade union leader Krivokuca has a political background and that it was ordered. These are people who are a priori against the idea of a Croatian state.

[Luburovic] Surely you are not saying that Ivan Zvonimir Cicak is one of them.

[Seks] No, he fits in with the pathology. And that it because his personal frustration, because he has not become what he thought he should be in Croatia, is so empty that what he is doing is essentially directed against Croatia.

[Luburovic] But let us go back to the conflicts within the HDZ. You contend that they are a fabrication partially by the opposition and partially by pathological individuals in Croatia. But the newspapers have been full of statements by HDZ members in which they unmistakably refer to the conflict, so that it is hard to accept that the conflict has been forced on the HDZ, much less that it has been fabricated.

[Seks] We must first define the word conflict. If there were a conflict, then it would have to manifest itself in factional fighting or person encounters that are also based on conceptual differences or personal animosities.

[Luburovic] Let us now analyze the word conflict. What is it that is happening in the HDZ?

[Seks] It is not a matter of conflicts on the level of global differences in tactics or strategy. You use the word conflict, but I would prefer the word tensions. Tension has emerged because of a different understanding and ignorance of individual moves that resulted from actions by the government and the coordinating bodies for domestic policy. Tension has also emerged because of differences in perceptions of individual relations.

[Luburovic] Can one follow this by saying that Vladimir Seks does not have good relations with Stipe Mesic?

[Seks] In the political sense of the word, yes.

[Luburovic] What is the essence of these differences?

[Seks] The division into democratic, undemocratic, liberal, and conservative factions was injected from the outside.

[Luburovic] Who injected it?

[Seks] I think that it was injected by both the opposition and the pathological elements. Both simultaneously and separately.

[Luburovic] But what do you say about the fact that the HDZ has nevertheless bitten into this apple of discord?

[Seks] The HDZ has not bitten into this apple; rather, it has tried to clarify and define the rules of the game at the meetings of its Presidency, to define the rules of behavior for leading people in the party, while at the same time defining its own attitude toward questions that have cropped up, toward ownership transformation, for example.

[Luburovic] Are you satisfied with this definition?

[Seks] I am satisfied with these rules. They are completely in accordance with my conception. The principles of these rules have been agreed to at the highest level of the party.

[Luburovic] On what are those rules founded?

[Seks] Yes to free enterprise, but in such a way that the weight of crime and various abuses that have begun to aggravate the privatization process is removed. I would say that this is why malicious attempts are being made to identify two groups within the HDZ. I am ostensibly in one of them, and it is against private enterprise. But actually the opposite is true. Specifically, abuses in the transformation process have begun to make it harder, and doubts about transformation have emerged. Under existing regulations, the Croat emigre community has been excluded from the transformation. And because there were no rules of the game, many charges have been lodged, as well as demands for review of the transformation in many enterprises. And that is because no clear distinction was made between what is considered enterprise and dexterity and what is considered abuse. But at

the noted sessions of the HDZ Presidency, the party explicitly defined what is enterprise, and what is abuse.

[Luburovic] Which side is Dr. Tudjman on?

[Seks] I think that he has been unreservedly and fully on my side. It is true that I have not been the only one whom he has supported, but I think that he has completely agreed with my concept of giving greater momentum and stimulus to privatization, free enterprise, and the creation of Croatian capital and Croatian capitalists, but that this differs from abuse, which halts this process. Thus, it is not a matter of halting the process of creating free enterprise, but in fact the opposite. However, there have also been others who think differently, although not with regard to essential questions; rather, they have had different views about the tactical moves in this sense. Anyway, it is good for the party that its leadership has clarified this with one another.

[Luburovic] The result of this was the decision to begin changing the party's program and bylaws?

[Luburovic] That was not a result of it. The need to change the program comes from the adopted position that the HDZ must be transformed from a movement into a party with a Christian democratic orientation.

[Luburovic] Will there be fundamental changes in the program?

[Seks] I do not think so. The basic components of the HDZ will remain in the program, but in the future there will be greater emphasis on the Christian democratic orientation. And the bylaws will be changed because the old ones suited the time and encirclement in which we came into being. Those very bylaws were written during a flight from Zagreb to Montreal, and thus in approximately six hours. That is why today we must make bylaws that will not be appropriate to a movement, but rather to a party.

[Luburovic] Will the changes in the program result in a situation where Vladimir Seks considers whether to stay in the HDZ?

[Seks] I cannot imagine being anywhere outside the HDZ.

[Luburovic] How are your relations with President Tudjman?

[Seks] Very good.

[Luburovic] What is the background to the charge leveled against you by Stjepan Kralj, a member of the SDU [Social Democratic Union], to the effect that you are hiding the murderer of trade union leader Krivokuca?

[Seks] This is a situation where the former Office for Protection of the Constitutional Order was imprudent and hired a person who lacks the moral qualities to do that job.

[Luburovic] Did it hire him or take him over from its predecessor?

[Seks] Perhaps it did take him over. But the essential thing is that this is a person who has been charged with multiple criminal acts, which he committed. Concretely speaking, he has put forward a multitude of untruths. He really has a colorful imagination. I reacted to his allegation by lodging criminal charges with the State Bar, and misdemeanor charges with the police. In both cases based on the spreading of untrue stories.

[Luburovic] How do such charges against you make you feel?

[Seks] In each of his letters, Kralj accuses me of something different. However, Kralj is not the problem. After all, these days everyone says and writes everything under the sun. The problem is that when such things begin to develop, the state must speak up very quickly.

[Luburovic] How?

[Seks] The moment that Kralj confirmed that he was a reserve agent for the Office for Protection of the Constitutional Order, that was enough for the state to speak up. That disbanded office gave him the ID card of a reserve agent, and since the office is part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, it is necessary to see how he became an agent for Manolic's office.

[Luburovic] Does this indicate an oversight on Manolic's part?

[Seks] I think so. It was imprudent for this type of person even to be used. A 15-minute interview with that type of person is enough to conclude that any dealings with him will only end in trouble.

[Luburovic] Is that Manolic's only oversight?

[Seks] No. The case of Milovan Skoric is a similar example. He was taken over into the service from old structures.

[Luburovic] Are these oversights chance occurrences or the rule?

[Seks] That is hard to determine right now. But it is a fact that decisions on people in the SZUP [Service for Protection of the Constitutional Order] are made not so much by its top figures as on lower levels. Concretely speaking, I doubt that Manolic personally made assessments of these people.

[Luburovic] What would you consider to be the greatest danger for Croatia?

[Seks] I think that it is the loss of national unity. It is true that despite the divisions into parties, Croatia has still maintained a high level of unity concerning fundamental questions of its future and the structure of the Croatian state. It would be harmful for interparty disagreements to translate into inter-Croat animosity through stupid moves.

[Luburovic] What would such stupid moves be?

[Seks] They are moves that attempt to sow the seeds of division in the totality of the Croatian corpus. Furthermore, they are moves whereby an effort is made to create antagonism among Split, Osijek, and Zagreb. That is a very malicious germ, which actually pursues something different under the guise of regionalism.

[Luburovic] But simple human psychology itself produces this division. You have to go to the part of Croatia torn by war and hear this antagonism first-hand from ordinary people....

[Seks] I am not talking about that. The people in those situations feel cut off. Daggers are thrown at Zagreb and the state authorities. But I am talking about those who are promoting this sort of attitude.

[Luburovic] And who are they?

[Seks] They know who they are. I have nothing to say about them right now.

[Luburovic] Why do you not want to identify them when you are already pointing to them as a danger to Croatia?

[Seks] The people in those regions themselves must recognize them. In Dalmatia, for example, the people must recognize those individuals who will try to focus their bitterness in a completely wrong direction. The people should not be duped by platitudes about how the HDZ, the government, or Croatia is to blame for the fact that they have no electricity or water, or that they have shells falling on them.

[Luburovic] However, in that case the people will tell you that the state structure of Croatia today is such that it is a centralized, unitary state, and that it is logical that they direct their dissatisfaction toward Zagreb instead of toward the opstina, as was previously the case....

[Seks] Of course. But I am talking about those people who are encouraging animosity and who are consciously crossing the Rubicon of criticism. It is one thing to say that the government is incompetent, that the prime minister is incompetent, and to do so using the heaviest caliber of arguments in one's criticism, but it is different when Zagreb is charged with betraying the national interests in the style of "they have betrayed us, sacrificed us, sold us out." And there have been too many platitudes of this sort, from Vukovar to Dubrovnik.

[Luburovic] In the government you are in charge of relations with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. Can you tell us when the refugees and exiles will begin going home? The promise that they would return after fall has come to naught.

[Seks] The first precondition for the return of these people to their hearths is the redefinition of the Vance plan. That means that UNPROFOR should gain the means to achieve the goals because of which it is in Croatia. The current means do not make it possible to implement the peace plan. Admittedly, it is possible with such means only if the Serb rebels accept implementation of the plan. But if that were the case, then we would not even need UNPROFOR. In my last meeting with Cedric Thornberry, I told him that. He is perfectly aware of the fact that UNPROFOR must gain the means that would allow it to be effective. And those means are approval for the use of force by UNPROFOR. However, given the fact that the United Nations is simply an arithmetic total of states, the political decision about this is up to those who actually make political decisions in the world. Concretely, that means the United States of America. It must make the decision because it is the one that will carry it out and finance it. Thus, the decision on redefining the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia is up to the United States. If the United States does not make that decision, together with its allies, then it is hardly likely that the EC will do so on its own, independently of the United States. Thus, the decision can be made either in a U.S.-EC alliance or by the United States on its own.

[Luburovic] What if such a decision does not come?

[Seks] If UNPROFOR does not receive that sort of mandate, it means a continuation of the status quo. However, all of this must also be viewed in the context of implementation of the Vance-Owen plan for B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina]. If the plan there is implemented in its entirety, then according to the law of connected vessels the Serb rebels cannot survive in Croatia either. Because with the implementation of that plan for B-H, Serbia remains confined to its borders. In that way, the Serbs in the UNPA [UN Protected Area] zones are deprived of all support. This means that in that case, even without a redefinition of the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia, things would undergo a fundamental shift. And that is because such a situation would dishearten the rebels there. This would create the preconditions for solving the problem through negotiations with the more moderate wing of the rebel Serbs. But if the content of UNPROFOR in Croatia remains the same and the Vance-Owen plan is not implemented in B-H, which we fear, then Croatia would have to decide what its options are.

[Luburovic] With which of the party leaders do you have coffee most often?

[Seks] Luka Bebic.

[Luburovic] Have you bought any stock in a Croatian enterprise?

[Seks] No, I have no mind for business.

[Luburovic] Will you run for the post of HDZ chairman in any future party elections?

[Seks] No, because the candidate will be Dr. Franjo Tudjman.

Conflict in HDZ Exposed, Discussed

93BA1003A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 30 Apr 93 pp 27-29

[Article by Marko Barisic: "Reconciliation of the Irreconcilable"]

[Text] When Boljkovac and Vukojevic today threaten each other with files and secret documents, they not only abuse their positions but also their political esteem and the program of the party to which they belong. Will they threaten other citizens of Croatia with files tomorrow?

It has been clear from the very beginning that the conflict between Vice Vukojevic and Josip Boljkovac, exposed by the media last week, would go all the way to HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] headquarters and that an end to that conflict would be sought by President Tudjman himself. Because this conflict struck at the foundations of Croatian Democratic Community policy, which was in fact defined by Tudjman. The foundation of that policy in the struggle for an independent Croatia was national reconciliation, which was drawn into question by the Vukojevic-Boljkovac conflict. Aware of the harmful effect of this conflict both for his party and for Croatia as a whole, Tudjman took a step that made it perfectly clear to everyone in the HDZ that there would be no more tolerance of personal, intraparty showdowns. Accordingly, the Central Committee of the HDZ, chaired by Dr. Tudjman, concluded that Boljkovac should be brought before the court of honor, and explicitly named were Stipe Mesic, Vladimir Seks, and Vice Vukojevic.

For some people, the fact that Vukojevic avoided the court of honor will be proof that Tudjman has given way to the right wing of the HDZ, while others will see in this only Boljkovac's head as collateral for a final attempt at intraparty reconciliation and the preservation of party unity. If the other named people do not learn a lesson from the Boljkovac affair, then the same punishment will be applied, while the entire membership is informed that the final definition of the party will be coming shortly. Specifically, there was one good result of the Vukojevic-Boljkovac conflict: The HDZ decided to prepare for a change in its bylaws and program, and the holding of a party congress and intraparty elections are expected.

This last step was in fact necessary. This is because the contours of a large part of recent Croatian history are unclear, meaning the lack of scientifically well-founded research, the arbitrary interpretations of events in the World War II and the postwar period, the very lively oral tradition from that period, and the latest events from the creation of the Croatian state to the outbreak of war in the territories of the internationally recognized states of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, i.e., the former Independent State of Croatia [NDH; 1941-1945], which is why the subject of the division of the Croat nation into Ustashi and Partisans has become topical among the population, in the media, and lately at the very top echelons of official Croatian policy. And it is precisely by reconciling these options that Dr. Tudjman successfully led Croatia toward independence.

Persecutors and the Persecuted

The emphasis on this division has been helped along especially by returned Croat emigres who have occupied certain important posts in the Croatian government, the recent debate in the Assembly on determining the victims of the war and postwar period, certain documentary films, the Croatian position on the future structure of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the very division of government caused by the new structure for state administration. Several private media have joined in with full force, together with private journalists, primarily present-day malcontents, former stars of the old communist regime who for years based their moral, ideological, and material makeup on this very theme—tirelessly uncovering domestic and foreign enemies for the centralist authorities in Belgrade. In their mental framework, the main enemy was, as they said, the Ustashi emigration, while at home it was those who support them: the Catholic Church and a few dissidents. Thus, by a confluence of circumstances, thanks primarily to the ostensible peace created by the UN peacekeeping forces at the long Croatian front, they have returned once again to their own theme, about which they are vociferating just as passionately under completely new historical and political circumstances.

On the other side of this story are those who were persecuted and politically eliminated by the former regime of the former Yugoslavia, and also those who tolerated that regime but had no desire to show sympathy toward it. Thus, now that the persecutors and the persecuted have worked on the same task of defending the Croatian state, by deflating the initial rapture surrounding the creation of the state they have resumed their mutual half-century battle, with the same goal but different means. No longer with weapons, but rather with political tools, the goal of which is to eliminate adversaries and take control over individual bodies of the Croatian state. In the process, they are using a similar or identical vocabulary.

When Vice Vukojevic says that Josip Boljkovac is a "ghost from the past," that expression, regardless of its content, is nothing other than a group of words copied from Partisan readers or an excerpt from course materials with which young Marxist journalists were educated until recently. But if Vukojevic had said, for example, that he had proof that at the end of the war or in the postwar period Boljkovac participated in the illegal execution of a certain number of people while he, as a young communist, was gripped by revolutionary spirit, that would be something completely different. There would be a charge, evidence, a court, and the right to defense. In this way, Vukojevic too has joined the struggle on the level of pamphlets and ideological defamation.

Boljkovac has responded to him in the same way. He has declared him to be the leader of a "sick group of people struggling for power" and indirectly accused him of having been an UDBA [Yugoslav State Security Administration] agent. Boljkovac knows his job, and although he does not get drunk only on viticulture and the fruits of that noble plant, he knows the meaning of a charge like that, even if it is leveled without any proof whatsoever. But the quality of the evidence that he would need in order to bring about an indictment is indicated by his statement for Radio France Internationale, after the Assembly debate on the determination of victims of the war and postwar period. "Fascism is awakening in Croatia," Boljkovac said. When this is said by a former high-ranking state official and current deputy in the Assembly's House of Zupanijas, why should that come as a surprise to those who used the same arguments to deny the Croats their right to a state?

Private Politics

Some, including Boljkovac, have politicized the determination of the number of fallen soldiers in one army or another and of killed civilians, through which they are hiding impure consciences and fears that many names could turn up among those who—with disregard for the law and courts—filled the secret graves with people of other political views, of which Boljkovac has already been accused in several newspaper articles. Bruno Busic has also been used for similar purposes, for politicization. The film that was to be made about him and his struggle for an independent Croatia served as a private reprisal. Vukojevic eliminated Ivan Cesar and announced the elimination of a few other "zealous" emigre Croats for only one reason. Not because they worked for that notorious service, of which he found proof in the archives, but rather because of his own disappointment when he realized—given the fact that his friends at home were informers—that his entire emigration struggle, like the struggle of a majority of political Croats abroad, was a "game" under the control of the Yugoslav authorities. Even if that is humanly understandable, it is not politically justified, even under the condition that Cesar continued this activity later too, after the state president appointed him cabinet minister, when he allegedly asked for the help of the Austrian authorities in toppling Tudjman during a stay in that country.

Such a film is not politically justified because if it is, then the approach after the first multiparty elections had to be as in West Germany after unification: to open up all archives and eliminate all informers and employees. Tudjman took the opposite approach, knowing that it would not be possible to establish a Croatian state through showdowns between "Partisans and Ustashi." Thus, when Boljkovac and Vukojevic today threaten each other with files and secret documents, they not only abuse their positions but also their political esteem and the program of the party to which they belong. Will they threaten other citizens of Croatia with files tomorrow? Will Agotic, for example, as the former chief of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] intelligence service and now a general in the Croatian Armed Forces, simply be a KOS [Yugoslav Counterintelligence Service] figure tomorrow through the use of such files? And in this way continually destabilize Croatia?

It is probably clear to everyone that Croatia is not in Germany's position. The files were not opened not only because of the policy of national reconciliation, but primarily because of the homeland war, which will be divisive for Croatia, if it is not already. Vukojevic's selective approach is creating in the state an unhealthy atmosphere of distrust, conspiracy, and showdowns. However, even that is not the most important thing about this whole Croatian story about "Ustashi and Partisans." Specifically, the struggle for private ownership of state enterprises that are currently in the process of transformation is taking place behind the smokescreen of politics. Thus, those who are against rapid transformation and against giveaways of enterprises are primarily in the right wing of the HDZ, and their opponents call them "Ustashi." Meanwhile, the others who are for rapid transformation, whereby if possible some company devolves to them, are positioned in the center or to the left of them. They are "Partisans." The latter criticize the former for being against privatization and for a state economy, while the "Ustashi" call the "Partisans" vulgar plunderers of the national wealth.

"Us and Them"

All other divisions and groupings of like-minded people have taken place according to this division, which is basically a struggle for power, money, and authority. Thus, it comes as no surprise that Manolic and Boljkovac, over night, became liberals instead of hotheaded Bolsheviks, as certain media have labeled them. Indeed, in an interview with GLOBUS, Boljkovac mentions a group of his friends with a clear political message. Vukojevic does not mention his friends, but he does put the struggle within the party on the level of "us and them." Given the nature of the struggle and its consequences, it is clear that the antagonists are using all means available to them. It is no easy thing to be in the political leadership, to be the possible owner of a factory, and to lose all of that because of certain documents that prove criminal activity and presumed corruption.

For now, Vukojevic is "in the lead." At least judging from the current distribution of functions, he has eliminated Manolic and Boljkovac, he did not oppose the fall of Sarinic, and he has seriously undermined even Mesic. The only option left to his adversaries is to try to gamble on the currently popular Herzegovina lobby or perhaps on the alleged detriment (for Croatia) of Boban's opposition to the concept of a civic-Muslim B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina]. If they are unable to weaken Vukojevic's position with those two cards, then the only thing left is for them to go around like Vedris, according to the journalism grapevine, to the editorial offices of weekly newspapers offering information on the size of the apartments that Vukojevic and Seks got from the state.

But both Vukojevic and Seks should finally realize that "party control" alone, without creativity and enterprise, even if with mistakes and failures, ultimately leads to an inveterate pharisee and certainly not the energetic politician needed at this time, capable of responding to its challenges.

The main issue in Croatia today is not the struggle between "Ustashi and Partisans," as some of our journalists at foreign publications wish and write. That is a smokescreen behind which a struggle for power and authority—and money—is going on. That is why Boljkovac's statement about how fascism is awakening in Croatia has a completely different overtone and different significance. The Ustashi fought for an NDH all the way to the Drina, while today there is not a single Croat doing that. The Partisans fought for a Yugoslavia from the Vardar to Triglava, while today there is not a single Croat doing that either. Croats today are fighting for their own state, the Republic of Croatia, and for the protection of their three provinces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as defined by the EC and United Nations. Thus, in accordance with the policy of the international community, or rather the allies, the victors in the Second World War. But the fact that the struggle for power and authority is shifting to the political level is only proof of how effective Yugoslav communism was and how deep the tracks are that it left behind. The fact that nothing more than this is involved is proven by the relevant political parties: Thee is no trace of either Ustashi or Partisan ideals in their programs. This is also shown by the composition of the nation, where more than 70 percent of the people were born after the war, and especially by young people, the ones who have also fought in this war. They show no signs of any influence from past mistakes or of such divisions. The division into "Ustashi and Partisans" exists only among those who clearly cannot reconcile themselves with the Croatian state, but since they are compelled to do so, they tolerate its existence only as an opportunity to ensure, through plunder, the economic power necessary for them to buy authority. However, they are on their way out, slowly but surely.

Implementation of Amnesty Law Discussed

93BA0982B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 23 Apr 93 pp 10-11

[Article by Boris Komadina: "Seven Months Since the Amnesty"]

[Text] *So far 3,350 individuals have been pardoned on the basis of the Law on Amnesty, and their number is growing.*

Willfully abandoning a job as inspector at the Novska police station in August 1991, N. B., a Serb by nationality, left for the area of Okucani and Rajic in the Novska municipality, for the purpose of organized resistance to the legal authorities of the Republic of Croatia, suspension of the government of the Republic of Croatia, and the establishment of a new, rebel government so that those areas could separate from the parent country. He actively joined enemy units, donning the uniform of the enemy army and taking up personal weapons. First of all he performed the job of police inspector in the so-called Militia of the Krajina SAO [Serbian Autonomous Region], in Rajic, after which he was transferred to Stara Gradiska, where he is standing guard in an enemy prison. Proceedings were initiated against him in absentia for the crime of participating in a rebellion against the Republic of Croatia.

In accordance with the Law on Amnesty, the criminal proceedings have been terminated. Around the end of July and the beginning of August 1991, after the Assembly proclaimed the Republic of Croatia to be a sovereign and independent state, I. S., a Serb by nationality, and a large number of individuals of Serbian nationality armed themselves in the Banija area for the purpose of overthrowing the newly established democratic order and the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia. Armed, he stood guard at night on the barricades in the village of Blinjska Greda, and carried information in the area of Cavoc Brdo and Dvor, where the rebel headquarters was located. He was arrested and then exchanged. In accordance with the Law on Amnesty, criminal prosecution has been terminated.

Political Reality or Act of Mercy

These two dry, meager stories from the court records are the first signs of implementation of the already slightly forgotten Law on Amnesty. "If amnesty from criminal prosecution of a perpetrator of a crime in connection with the war being conducted in our homeland is the price of stopping that war, then wisdom requires that we show good will and magnanimity toward those who committed those crimes." With those words, then and also present Minister of Justice and Administration Ivica Crnic explained the need for accelerated adoption of the Law on Amnesty from Criminal Prosecution and Proceedings for Crimes Committed in Armed Conflicts and in the War Against Croatia, or the Law on Amnesty. That was on 25 September 1992, when the law was adopted. Its adoption was accompanied by a stormy and polemical debate among the deputies, and misunderstandings and disbelief among the Croatian population frustrated by the war. "Did they really pardon the ones who were killing us? How far will the world humiliate us?" These questions were the first ones that came to mind. Every shell that fell at that time on Slavonski Brod intensified the emotions that accompanied the adoption of that law. After a rational explanation of that very brief law (it only has four articles in about 15 lines) and it was put in the context of political realities in the world in connection with the international recognition of Croatia, the storm subsided to some extent and the dramatic series of events that followed cast it into oblivion.

Limited Amnesty

Seven months after that law was adopted and went into effect, the first official indications of implementation of the Law on Amnesty have been presented. At the last Assembly session, in the annual report, the following was stated, among other things: "A particular activity influencing the political situation in the Republic of Croatia is the implementation of the Law on Amnesty, which has been applied to 3,049 individuals (1,968 decisions are legally in effect)." On the track of these data, we contacted Mr. Mirsad Baksic, the district and military public prosecutor, who, along with his assistant Niksa Stolic, explained its application. "This law precisely specifies the period to which the amnesty from criminal prosecution will apply, and that means that for crimes committed during the period before the war, i.e., before the armed rebellion of 17 August 1990, and for crimes committed after the publication of this law, our criminal laws will be fully applied. Consequently, after 25 September 1992, when the law was adopted, our criminal code fully applies. It is important to emphasize that, because people should know that all those who are firing on Zadar, Sibenik, and all the other places in the Republic of Croatia today will sooner or later answer for it, and the Law on Amnesty does not apply to them," Basic and Stolic emphasized.

It is likewise worth knowing that crimes committed during the period from 17 August 1990 to 25 September 1992 in the war against Croatia are not identical. The only individuals who will be pardoned are those who participated in the rebellion but did not commit any crime that Croatia is obligated to prosecute under the provisions of international law.

Most of the individuals pardoned are from eastern Slavonia, and from the area of Osijek and Karlovac.

Seven months is a sufficient period for judging someone's mistakes or successes. On the basis of the indications, our impression is that Croatia made a good move by adopting the Law on Amnesty. Croatia accepted and implemented a civilized method of resolving conflict situations, but all those who have bloodied their hands in any way (that is not just a political phrase, but a position defined by law) will be tried.

Plans To Transfer Kosovo Croats to Croatia

93BA1000A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 30 Apr 93 pp 30-31

[Article by Marko Franjic: "The Ghetto in Wall Street"]

[Text] The return of Janjevo to its homeland is a project on which the Croatian Janjevo Society has been working for a long time now. The objective is to resettle in Croatia families which have so far remained in Janjevo, which is in Kosovo. A large number of Janjevites, we were told by the society's president, Mr. Branko Glasnovic, have already arrived in Zagreb and are living under very difficult conditions in two settlements in Dubrava with the symbolic names Palestine and Korea. But another picture of Janjevites in Zagreb is offered by the 25 largest houses in Konjscinska Street, one of the busiest commercial streets in the city and probably the street with the highest concentration of large private houses. It is precisely those 25 houses, of the 75 there are in the street, that has created Konjscinska's image. Family business flourishes in them.

Konjscinska Street does not properly represent us, you will be told by a majority of the Janjevites to whom you try to talk about this phenomenon with any seriousness. That street in Zagreb's Dubrava District is also called Wall Street because of the business transactions and dealings with foreign exchange. The malicious add that it gained importance with the historic roasting of an ox on the spit after the victory of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] in the first election, which was attended by a majority of Croatia's current statesmen. Konjscinska Street is also characterized by the specific appearance of the houses that accommodate the business establishments, not only because of their imposing size, but also because of their style. Parts of the structures that are a bit oriental catch the eye, and they are what distinguishes them from the villas which Zagreb has in abundance. Perhaps the concentration of such houses is what gives the street its visual singularity.

It all began when several able Janjevites "turned over" their money and built the first houses. Because the relation between them is competitive, not that of a guild at all, they say in the Janjevite society, the others, in order to prove themselves, also ordered increasingly bold and free designs for their own houses. The architects took advantage of this, courting the owners by adding to the designs details of a tried-and-true style of architecture which the unsophisticated Janjevites "fell for."

Most of those to whom we talked agree that the street, in which everything, from a needle to a locomotive, as they say, can be bought very inexpensively, first began to get its business image from Josip Gucic, a businessman whom the general public came to know when he became the owner of NIK. Even today, the Gucic family has commercial space in Konjscinska Street, and Josip Gucic is building one of the largest houses in that street. Most Janjevites say of him that he is one of the rare ones who has been so successful and that he is the exception, not the rule, among Janjevites. For them, he is the model of what real success is like. Building a house and having a business, a commercial business, that is the traditional aspiration of Janjevites. There are not many who have succeeded at it, but Gucic stands for success. At the Janjevite society they say that he is one of the largest donors to humanitarian drives. At Easter this year, he donated 18 tons of flour, 500 kg of meat, and 200 kg of cheese to needy Janjevo families, and it was distributed among about 2,000 of them.

Life in the street begins at about 0800 hours, when the first shops and cafes open, and it lasts, depending on interest, until the late hours of the night. The street is

crowded throughout the day, sometimes it is as crowded as a carnival, it is hard to get through the street there are so many cars of all kinds, from the small FIAT to the newest Mercedes, and the pedestrians who are coming because of the inexpensive goods. Where and how the tradesmen acquire their goods is a trade secret. They all respond with a smile to questions about that. They might say that this is a matter of the individual's ability and commercial flare, which are essential to business. In Konjscinska Street, most establishments are wholesalers, although this is a flexible term. By and large it is difficult, for example, to sell one knife in a package of six. But the purchase of one such package, which costs about 3,000 dinars, is already a wholesale transaction.

Business firms may purchase goods on order and pay for them with a credit transfer. The most important thing is the desire to buy something, and all the rest can be arranged. Foreign currencies can be exchanged in the street at a decent rate, but payment in the shops is made in foreign currencies. Goods can be bought at retail, but they will be considerably more expensive because of the tax. Whether because of the constant crowds or the youth of the salesclerks, who are usually members of the shopowner's family, the clerks could certainly be more ingratiating. The clerks are impolite toward customers who want something very small, they give them some lip, and it is not impossible that they might discretely tell them to leave the shop. By and large, all family members work from the youngest to the oldest, and the family pyramid is honored, so that usually the oldest member and his opinion are respected. Working hours are, of course, not defined in this kind of division of labor, people work constantly for the good of the family. Parents are usually not well-disposed to the idea of their children receiving higher education—most of them want their progeny to carry on the family business.

At present, the most frequent lines of business of the Janjevites are plastics (this can be seen as a kind of continuation of tradition, because one of the main trades of the old Janjevites was casting in sand), goldsmithing, jewelrymaking, leather accessories, general trade, and recently trade in textiles has been considered a lucrative business. There is a competitive relationship among the families, which is contrary to the deep-seated opinion that the Janjevites are interconnected into clans and guilds. Market relations and competition prevail among them, but they do help one another in humanitarian drives. Their interlinkage is manifested more in their isolation from others, because of differences brought about by their way of life in another region, by their different accent, which is closer to the speech of Albanians than that of Croats, and the quite cool attitude of fellow Croats in Croatia, who look upon them just as they do on other newcomers. They all unambiguously emphasize in conversation that they are greatly bothered by the confusion of terms and the relegation of Janjevites to various categories and groups which do not have a good image in Croatia, and no one attempts to deny that the Janjevites are in a way ghettoized. There are several reasons for this position of theirs in Croatia today. Mr. Branko Glasnovic, president of the Janjevite society, believes that few people know that the toponym Janjevo refers to only one place in Kosovo inhabited by Croats who settled in that region back in 1303. "The people referred to as Janjevites are descendants of the old people from Dubrovnik, they are Croats and Catholics. They differ entirely from the other nationalities and religions of that eastern region. During the 700 years of living in those parts, they have certainly taken over several customs from other nationalities, but they have always remained Croats and Catholics with a recognizable cultural legacy. The Janjevites are not Albanians, Skipetars, Macedonians, nor any other nationality of that region. There are other Croats in Kosovo, for instance, in Litica Opstina, but they are not Janjevites either. You cannot say of someone who was born and lives in Ludbreg that he is a Varazdinite. There are Albanians who are Catholics in Kosovo, but they do not have any connection to the Janjevites either," says Mr. Glasnovic.

The exclusiveness of the Janjevites can be explained by the environment they have faced down through the years, which they felt to be profoundly hostile. That is probably why religion means a great deal to them, and most go to church regularly and strictly celebrate all Catholic holidays. The great exodus and departure from Janjevo began after '48, when it became intolerable to live in the hostile environment, and it has continued to this day. The Janjevites brought to Kosovo a culture that was progressive for the region to which they moved, and they managed to maintain it right up until World War II. Engaging in mining, casting in sand, blacksmithing, and goldsmithing, they managed to buy their peace even under the Turkish Empire, but the troubles have become insurmountable in the last several years since Milosevic came to power. Back in 1991, there were 603 families in Janjevo, and it is now estimated that about 120 of them remain. The Croatian Janjevo Society, which is also concerned about Janjevites in Kosovo, initiated a broad campaign to make it possible for those families to move to Croatia as well. The plan which they drafted was to build a settlement, a new Janjevo, in the eastern section of the city, where the families from Janjevo would settle permanently along with those who have already arrived, but do not have adequate housing. According to what they say, there is no life any longer in Janjevo in Kosovo. The refugees from what they refer to as the first Croatian diaspora, who left behind everything in Janjevo, have been accommodated in settlements symbolically called Korea and Palestine in Dubrava. Several large families live in the half-finished houses in which often there is no electricity or water. The war has made it impossible for most of them to make a living as vendors with stands in tourist spots along the Adriatic, in which many of them engaged. The narrow muddy little streets, the slobbery children playing in them, and the tired-looking people are the other picture of the Janjevites in Zagreb. Palestine and Korea are the other reflection of Konjscinska

Street. About 1,500 people would be accommodated in the settlement that would be built according to the plan.

The Croatian Janjevo Society, established back in 1972, even expects that the Republic of Croatia will share in that project, because so far only one family from Janjevo has been accommodated for a short time at government expense. They mention that more than 10 percent of the Janjevites in Zagreb, and today there are about 7,000 of them here, have defended the homeland in the military, which is above-average, and they feel it is high time that the government show concern for its diaspora, which also includes the Janjevites.

Federal

Fears That Missing Warhead Bound for War-Torn Regions

AU2105110493 Belgrade POLITIKA EXPRESS in Serbo-Croatian 20 May 93 p 9

[Report by M. Popadic: "Panic Because of the Warhead"]

[Text] Kelebija-Horgos 20 May—The disappearance of a nuclear warhead from one of the former elite USSR army units has caused a real panic, not only among customs officers and the police, but also among the residents who live in "the war-torn" regions.

The news of the theft of a dangerous device that, as it is assumed, could contain approximately 100 kilograms of "Uranium 235," the release of which would be deadly for years afterward, has been carried by all international agencies. A suspicion that this has been committed by Polish or East German smugglers has not been proven yet, however it has been proven that the lethal cargo is not where it should have been. According to a reputable English professor, hundreds of the so-called "dirty bombs" the size of a pocket battery could be made out of it. True enough, it is highly unlikely that the Mafia would actually succeed in making them, but the danger is too great to be ignored.

Security and control measures, primarily on the trucks that are coming from the Eastern European countries, have been stepped up on all border crossings toward Western Europe three days ago. Since the night before last, for example, the amount of traffic on the Yugoslav-Hungarian border crossings Kelebija and Horgos is greater than usual. The reason: Unusually rigorous control by the Hungarian customs officers, who are accompanied by UN Protection Force soldiers, and men in special uniforms with Geiger counters and dogs.

Until now, there has been no such control on the Yugoslav-Hungarian border crossings. This situation is explained by the fear that not only drugs and German arms, but also cargoes like the missing war heads, might be transported to some undesirable locations.

While the European police are searching frantically for the missing war head, the fear is growing that the head had perhaps already arrived to meet the requirements of one of the warring sides. Whether this is in Bosnia, Croatia, Afghanistan, Somalia or some other war-torn region is difficult to say at this moment.

Border Control Increased

AU2105092093 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 May 93 p 24

[Unattributed report: " 'Third Level' of Control at the Border Between Hungary and FRY"]

[Text] Subotica—Control on the Yugoslav-Hungarian transport border crossings Kelebija-Tomda and Horgos-Resee has been stepped up since midnight by the presence of special units with dogs. Beside the usual customs guard and the UN Protection Force members this represents the "third level" of control, introduced mostly for the Yugoslav citizens.

TANJUG has learned from sources close to the Hungarian border guards that the border control has allegedly been stepped up after the discovery of the theft of a nuclear war head (nuklearna bojevna glava) from a former Warsaw Pact camp.

FRY State Commission Memorandum Notes War Crimes in Bosnia

LD2005151193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1438 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 20 (TANJUG)—Moslem military and paramilitary formations killed around 1,200 Serb civilians in eastern Bosnia in the period between April last year and March this year, the Yugoslav State Commission for War Crimes and Genocide said in a memorandum on war crimes against Serb civilians in eastern Bosnia.

Between 2,800 and 3,200 Serb civilians were wounded in the same period in Moslem attacks on Serb villages in eastern Bosnia, says the memorandum and adds that the precise number of casulties is not possible to establish as at this moment.

The commission sent the memorandum to international forums as a document on the basis of which decisions and measures should be taken for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, TANJUG learned on Thursday [20 May].

One of the sections of the memorandum deals with Moslem massacres of Serb civilians in the areas of Bratunac, Skelani and Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia over the past year.

The document includes testimonies by survivors from those areas which show the horrible sufferings of innocent civilians in the region.

The perpetrators of these crimes were military formations of Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic which included mostly local Moslems and a smaller number of mercenaries from other parts of former Yugoslavia and other countries, says the memorandum.

'The main objective and purpose of terrorizing Serb civilians in eastern Bosnia was, like in earlier wars, to expel the Serb population from those regions,' says the memorandum.

Through false and undocumented information by Moslem and various other sources, the public was

deceived that ethnic cleansing was being practiced precisely by its victim while sympathies and constant assistance went to its perpetrators, stressed the commission.

'It may seem absurd but it is nevertheless true that Srebrenica started to get international humanitarian aid only after all Serbs were expelled from the area,' says the memorandum.

Last April, the United Nations Security Council declared the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica a 'safe area.'

Belgrade TV Rejects Cosic Complaints on Coverage

AU2005194793 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 May 93

["Explanation by Dragoljub Milovanovic, editor in chief of Belgrade Television's News Program," on television coverage of the FRY president's activities; read by announcer]

[Text] Regretting the fact that, according to TANJUG's unofficial information, the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia decided to take this step, which can ultimately hurt him and the function entrusted to him by the FRY Assembly the most. It must be stressed that Belgrade Television News has never tried to belittle the role of the head of state and state protocol in any manner whatsoever, which is listed as being the only reason why, in the future, our journalists will not be accommodated by the various departments of the FRY president's cabinet.

The best witness to this is the television audience, which numbers in the millions. If, however, accommodating them primarily means establishing the order of reports and news on the FRY president's activities in our newscasts, which, admittedly, some of Dobrica Cosic's closest associates and advisers have often tried to do, then we trust that the viewers and the president will not be insulted personally, because this kind of accommodation is not in accordance with professional and democratic standards and rules of conduct. This kind of assistance really is not essential to us, stresses the explanation of the editor in chief of Belgrade Television News.

Data on New Appointees in Army Leadership

93BA0997D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 93 p 12

[Article by Borislav Solesa: "Who Are the Generals Dragoljub Simonovic and Momcilo Perisic: New Names at the Top of the Military"]

[Text] *The recent choice of Lt. Gen. Dragoljub Simonovic for the post of deputy commander of the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia and the appointment of Maj. Gen. Momcilo Perisic as commander of the Nis army are cause for the question: Who are these newly appointed men who are supposed to be the military answer to the threat from without and at the same time the desired associates of all in the country?*

Dragoljub Simonovic is exceptionally restrained in contacts with reporters and in public appearances in general, so that there are no stormy waters around him. Those who have compiled a dossier on Simonovic, now the second in importance in the Army of Yugoslavia, behind Lt. Gen. Zivota Panic, have been able to note only a few "trivialities." At the end of December 1992 this high-ranking soldier spoke about the professionalization of the Army of Yugoslavia and explained that this means personal focus and greater expertise. "Although the impression is being created that the professionalization of the Army is expensive in the material sense, it is quite certain that its effectiveness will be significantly better," Gen. Simonovic then believed; he pointed this out in a meeting with the leadership of Nis District and the top people of the City Council of the Socialist Party of Serbia.

Many reporters have contacted Simonovic with the wish of doing an interview, but he has rarely said yes. The 60-year-old general, born in Glasovik near Prokuplje, has not wanted to get into a clinch with representatives of the seventh force. An exception is his conversation with the Japanese agency KYODO in which he said: "We are not excluding the possibility of the application of military force, but we are warning that this would be aggression against Yugoslavia and an adventurist act with unforeseeable consequences," and "with the withdrawal of the federal army to the territory of the state, the SRJ is not giving a single objective cause for anyone to use any force for intervention in the territory of Yugoslavia." He explained that the Army has been depoliticized, that it does not involve itself in political (problems) situations, and that it follows the orders of the Supreme Council for Defense and the president of the SRJ.

With Momcilo Perisic things have become quite different. This 49-year-old soldier, born in Kostunic near Gornji Milanovac, completed the highest military schools, was commander of the School Center in Zadar, corps commandant, and chief of the Army Staff. During the past year he participated in the most savage clashes in Herzegovina. In contrast to the military leadership at that time, Gen. Perisic became almost a charismatic leader among the Serbs there. All losses on that battlefield, including the withdrawal from Mostar and from the left bank of the Neretva, were put in the spirit of a "bureaucratic-ideological-Bolshevik military apparatus," and all combat successes were attributed to the qualifications of Momcilo Perisic.

General Perisic considers the late general Vladimir Vukovic and the current commander of the Serbian army of the Republic of Serbia, Ratko Mladic, to be exceptional officers. The failure to answer the call to the military reserve, he points out, must be punished with the loss of employment, and he believes this has already been

resolved in a good way in Montenegro. He does not consider sensible an amnesty for all, because in that way "we are punishing someone who has fought honorably and responsibly. Secondly, we are thereby making a big mistake toward the men that have given their lives. Thirdly, this would have exceptionally negative consequences for a number of years."

Gen. Perisic is trying to create the impression of himself as a man of spartan strictness toward himself. He recently did not want to take an apartment in Nis, "so that I would not differ from other officers of mine who stay in shacks." He has since obtained an efficiency apartment on the periphery of Nis.

Evaluating the personalities of Gen. Simonovic and Gen. Perisic in officer circles in the Army of Yugoslavia, it can be heard that the first is the type of man who works in a shadow and the second represents the opposite—he acts according to the principle that "what is on the mind is on the road." With the attainment of circumstances for Gen. Simonovic, no one has yet heard that he made an unexpected move, while that was an everyday occurrence for Gen. Perisic in his Herzegovinian phase.

It is precisely the involvement of Gen. Perisic in Herzegovina that someone problematizes with the questions "where is he from, from Milanovac, in Mostar," and he explains that the goal then was to maintain Yugoslavia. This involvement or the involvement of other generals did not maintain greater Yugoslavia. The question now is how to maintain this reduced Yugoslavia, pressured by sanctions and military threats in which the generals are also supposed to make their contribution.

Alleged Serb-Israeli Deals Denied

93BA1007F Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 93 p 4

[Article by B. Erdeljan: "Charges of Serbian-Israeli Machinations Rejected: Vasiljevic's Allegations Denied in Tel Aviv"]

[Text] The persons mentioned by Slovenia's DELO and the Zagreb press in their reports and articles deny allegations about a "coup" in the Association of Jews of Yugoslav Origin; Boss Jezda's Israeli visa will not be extended?

Jerusalem, 4 May—An unlikely team—"Jugoskandik" owner Jezdimir Vasiljevic, the Zagreb press, and Ljubljana's DELO, whereby in fact each party has begun to "uncover" Serbian-Israeli machinations on its own or practically simultaneously, each with its own material interests—is encountering a very sharp reaction here, especially since all this has been carried, without any verification whatsoever, by newspapers even in Belgrade.

Since of all the authors only Jezdimir Vasiljevic is in Israel, there is a possibility that he will be turned over to the courts in Tel Aviv.

When asked "to comment on information taken from Ljubljana's DELO on the activities of individual Jews in financial and other transactions with Yugoslavia," Vasiljevic said to "Big Pres," the Belgrade agency that he controls, that "Gerson Kaponi was actually one of the important people in the transfer of money from Serbia, and this took place under orders from bankers and politicians, but also from businessmen. "While this money is being turned over," he continued, "the economy is being crippled but the private accounts of individuals are growing fuller."

The owner of "Jugoskandik" concluded, by way of "Big Pres": "Kaponi himself is no longer in operation, he has pulled out, and perhaps the Jewish advisor to 'Dafiment Bank' knows something more about him. DELO has ascribed to Kaponi, also without proof, earnings of tens of millions of dollars, and has even said that as an informer he cooperated with Yugoslavs later sentenced in Israel for espionage on behalf of the PLO."

Following this gibberish of allegations by Boss Jezda are the reports published in Zagreb newspapers under the headline "Coup in Israel," which state the following: "At a special meeting, the president of the Association of Immigrants from Yugoslavia, Gerson Kaponi, was replaced. By a vote of 69 to 32, he was defeated by Isidor Kabiljo, an architect from Haifa, formerly of Sarajevo. Kaponi became rich by serving as intermediary and collecting a commission from legally and illegally finding employment for workers from Serbia.

"The 'coup' in the Association was arranged by allied immigrants from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, whose candidate was Kabiljo."

"There has not been any sort of coup in the Association of Jews of Yugoslav Origin. Gerson Kaponi was not replaced. Kaponi did not even run for office. Of the two candidates, I received a majority," Iso Kabiljo told POLITIKA. "Moreover, I was not the candidate for any sort of alliance of immigrants from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, because no such alliance exists."

In his Tel Aviv office, respected attorney Gerson Kaponi, who incidentally was vice president of the Association of Jews of Yugoslav Origin for 13 years and president for two years, told us: "It is below my dignity to react to such stupidity."

With a certain dose of irony he adds: "My only regret is that they did not link me to the U.S. mafia, because my name is Kaponi, which was given to me by the director of the First Men's High School in Belgrade, Spasenije Prica, when he saved my life in 1941. Moreover, I do not even know Jezdimir Vasiljevic. After reading what he said from here, which was then published in Belgrade, I could sue him."

Since fleeing Belgrade, Boss Jezda has been hiding in Israel, switching hotels, and paying armed bodyguards who are always with him. His three-month tourist visa expires during the first week of June, and as confirmed

by sources acquainted with the intentions of the Ministry of Interior, "his stay will not be extended."

Ten days ago, Vasiljevic announced that his next stop after Israel is England.

The greatest uproar in this storm among those who follow the press in the former Yugoslavia, which has stirred up in Zagreb, Ljubljana, and certain newspaper headlines in Belgrade, was provoked by a DELO employee who mixed up everything in his article, "Showdown with Disobedient People as Overture": tens of millions of dollars, politicians, bankers, arms, spies, failing to cite here a single reliable and convincing source.

The Association of Jews of Yugoslav Origin, after learning of the details of these articles and of the statement by Jezdimir Vasiljevic on Serbian-Israeli machinations, announced that it expects—because all information is being provided to it—that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jerusalem will "take steps."

Effects of Sanctions on Scientific Cooperation

93BA0997A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 93 p 14

[Article by O. Nikolic: "Reputable Names Also Under the Embargo"]

[Text] The first UN sanctions have led to real chaos in the plan for technical, educational, cultural, technological, and technical cooperation between FRY and the world, and it is not hard to imagine just how it will be when the newest blockade goes into full effect. In a report of the Federal Ministry for Information about the consequences of the embargo begun on 1 June 1992 (and the interruption in communications with the international community in the several most important spheres), the most drastic examples are listed. For example, agreements with the most influential world organizations have been suspended and ended, and the damages are measured in millions of dollars. Work has also been stopped on projects, scientific correspondence, and exchanges...

All agreements of the FRY on international, scientific, technological, and technical cooperation and membership in international organizations have been suspended or ended, the Federal Ministry report indicates. It is estimated that with the interruption of activity only on the national program in connection with the fourth cycle of the UNDP [UN Development Program] and the prohibition of a new, fifth cycle, a total of 48 million dollars has been lost. With the excommunication from the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program, 45 million ECU's for financing projects are not forthcoming. One hundred joint projects with the USA worth 2 million dollars have been cancelled, and the situation is similar with Italy, Germany, France, Spain, Holland, Russia, the Czech Republic, Poland...

Yugoslavia has also been excluded from the international data banks CERN [Center for Nuclear Research], EARN [European Academic Research Network], OLIS [On-Line Information System], which are under the control of the EC and the OECD; with this a real informational blockade has been carried out. With the prohibition of exports to the FRY, modernization has dropped behind, and repair of existing machinery will have to be done with the aid of the resourcefulness of domestic technicians. Over 500 Yugoslav scientific workers and young specialists yearly have been able to count on training abroad through Fulbright and other programs—nothing more remains of them now. Instead of departures for specialization, a one-way ticket is now bought for entirely different reasons. In addition to university people, middle-school graduates are also leaving and, in 1991 and 1992, 148 students left just from Belgrade middle schools, and in a month and a half in 1993, 24 students.

Because of the blockade many Yugoslav scientists, known throughout the world, have not been able to publish their scientific work or participate in international conferences. This was experienced firsthand by Dr. Mihail Djuric, who prepared a text for a Commemorative Anthology dedicated to a colleague, the philosopher Fadrih Kaulbah. The book came out without his review. In the explanation of Dr. Foker Gerdbart, it was demanded that the work of Dr. Djuric not be published "for legal reasons, since the Federal Ministry of Germany ordered all universities to respect the UN sanctions. And I myself am of the opinion that adherence to the sanctions is a priority political goal, but I regret that an interruption in previously successful personal connections will result." Dr. Djuric described this news as "a shameful act against philosophy and humanism."

Under Resolution 757, educational-cultural cooperation in the bilateral and multilateral field with almost all western, "eastern," and "nonaligned" countries has also been blocked. To be sure, relations are not completely frozen with China, India, the GDR, Korea, Cuba, Argentina, and Brazil. Fourteen bilateral and seven multilateral conventions on the recognition of school diplomas and certificates have been put in question; instructors in the Serbian language, who were employed at 65 universities in 23 countries up to 1992, have not been able to work normally since introduction of the sanctions. The distribution of textbooks and books for instruction in the mother tongue for citizens of the FRY in Germany has been prohibited, and subsidies for additional instruction in the mother tongue have been ended. This was done, for example, in the German region of Baden-Baden, where instruction for about 2,600 Yugoslav students was placed in doubt...

With the blockade, obtaining authors' rights for publishing books of foreign authors has also been affected. The import of production materials for manufacturing paper is being made impossible as well, as well as international events that are held in Yugoslavia (like the October Meetings of Writers, the Translators Meetings,

the Book Fair...). The situation is similar with fine arts and theatrical and musical performances.

Businessmen on Tightening of Sanctions

93BA0997C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by T. Jakobi and D. Srerko: "The Consequences Will Last for Years"]

[Text] *Although businessmen have been awaiting a new "D" day for days, weeks, they have remained in complete shock after the final raising of the curtain. While some interpret the future as leading into an isolation cell and a total end to production, others, mainly private businessmen, conclude more optimistically that it is left for us, as one of them colorfully explained, "to swear and go on doing our thing." It is certain that it is not yet clear to the majority who will be "locked out," whose property abroad will be confiscated, and what specific effect the blockade will have.*

The director of sales in SIMPO, Slobodan Stojanovic, points out that there will soon be meetings in the firm on the theme of what and how to continue. The "wealth" in the "Simpo" display window is the result of reserves obtained back before the introduction of the first sanctions, so it is easy to assume what will happen when all the reserves are used up. We are left only with work for the domestic market, and it is certain that the last connections that "Simpo" had with foreign partners on four continents will be ended and the effects on the operations of this large firm will remain for years, says Stojanovic.

Migration Abroad

"We don't have any more to do," the owner, Branislav Stojakovic, of the private firm "Eurokomerc," a firm that penetrated the Yugoslav market with production and sales of office furniture and Italian kitchens of high quality, points out briefly and clearly. The problem is not so much in the tight supply abroad—ways can somehow be found—but in the fact that we will no longer have anyone to sell either business or kitchen furniture to, says Stojakovic, adding that he is still in a phase of waiting. If and when the blockade begins, the whole firm is moving abroad, he indicates.

In "Kon Tiki," a private travel agency, they also tell us that they will continue to work. "Their" travelers, as one of the agents, Slobodan Micic, explained to us, are traveling abroad by rail, in order to take long trips to the east, which this agency offers.

Miloje Crejic at "Centrotekstil" considers that it is still premature to speak of the effects of tightened sanctions. "I expect an outcome of the crisis by political means, either through the signing of the Vance plan or a call to some new conference. The hermetic sealing of Yugoslavia would be terrible, especially since our state is not guilty. As to the effects on the leather and textile branch, they would certainly be great, since these branches are highly import dependent. In case the sanctions are applied, none of our measures, not even a transition to a war economy, would be able to yield signficant results."

And Stanislav Glumac of "Ikarus" claims: "Most of the 'Ikarus' workers have been on vacation since 1 February and I think that there continue to be no chances for resuming production when the question is transportation resources. What kind of measures the federal government has undertaken, I still don't know, but it can be assumed what a transition to a war economy means. In this sense 'Ikarus' could be engaged in refurbishing the Army's vehicle fleet."

Obstinate Bosnian Serbs

Locally, the application of new sanctions will mean for the meat industry the complete destruction of livestock and we will need five to 10 years for it to return to the status of two years ago, says Aleksandar Andjelikovic, owner of the "Papak" meat plant. "The fatteners have livestock ready for exports, which will obviously be completely impossible in this situation, and the meat is being offered almost free, since people no longer have a reason to fatten cattle. According to my information, the large meat industries stopped this morning and ceased all operations, and are waiting to see what will happen. I also believe that in the future businessmen who have imported petroleum and gasoline previously will no longer want to expose themselves to danger, and I think that by the same token foreign firms that wanted to work with us up to now will no longer do so. As far as the freezing of foreign exchange accounts of enterprises is concerned, I think that they have already been spent. There have been no offers on the money market since this morning and I think that the mark will soon be worth 500,000 dinars. We will change to a war economy, and this means that we will continue to strain everything to the last drop from dry dogwood, and then something radical will have to happen. We needn't fuss much about the consequences that will result from freezing the foreign exchange accounts of social firms. These small amounts of foreign exchange, if there were any, served only for the allegedly top directors of these firms to work in the field. All these large enterprises of ours, and all our numerous off-shore companies, which established these enterprises, are all a naked bluff."

"As a citizen I think that the decision made by the Bosnian Serbs cannot be only their decision. Better said, it could be their decision if there were no consequences for us. But, since we will have to experience still tighter sanctions, the destruction of the economy, and poverty, I think that they should not have been able to be so obstinate. The sharpest of all the measures in this resolution is the one that relates to the freezing of the accounts of our enterprises abroad. 'Minel' spent most of its foreign exchange on getting adjusted and it still has a little left. The freezing of foreign exchange accounts means that not one of our enterprises will be able to pay for procurement overseas, and the little that we have

succeeded in bypassing the blockade with will no longer be possible," says Milosav Filipovic, general director of "Minel Holding."

Up to now there has been a blockade and there hasn't, believes Ljupko Saric, deputy general director of "Grmec." But the newest resolution could lead to a complete loss of market abroad by "Grmec" and many other enterprises. Since this morning we have stopped many operations, waiting to see how the situation develops. Since this morning the mark has been selling on giro account for 80,000 and it is clear with what uncertainty business decisions can be made. We will survive, but one cannot live with the sanctions. I think that it is an urgent matter for both Yugoslav diplomacy and the Bosnian Serbs to work with all their power on ending the sanctions. Because, without integration into the world order and the global market, we can't do it.

Rift in Islamic Community of Former Yugoslavia

93BA1007A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 93 p 7

[Article by Mirjana Kuburovic: "What Is and Is Not Being Talked About: Why the Islamic Religious Community Has Fallen Apart"]

[Text] *Did Selimoski become unsuitable to Bosnian Muslims because of his meeting with the pope or because he is Macedonian; national borders have divided believers.*

The report that Bosnian Muslims had declared autonomy and replaced the former reis-ul-ulema, Jakub Selimoski, came as a surprise only to the uninformed. This was confirmed by yesterday's statement by Belgrade mufti Hamdi Jusufspahic, who says that the disintegration of the Islamic Religious Community of the former Yugoslavia was inevitable, although it is clear that it happened at an inauspicious time and in an inauspicious way.

It appears that no one has any reason to grieve over the unified Islamic Religious Community (of the former Yugoslavia), because it was unrealistic to expect that it would survive as an integral body even though the former Yugoslav republics had become autonomous within their former borders. Informed people know that the Islamic Religious Community has always adapted and organized itself according to state borders. Former reis-ul-ulema Selimoski attempted—for which some people are now criticizing him—to preserve some sort of Islamic Religious Community as a unified organization, hoping that that would mean stronger ties and greater security for Muslims in all the former republics of Yugoslavia.

According to some grapevine accounts, the reason for the desire for independence by the Muslim religious community in Bosnia-Herzegovina was Mr. Selimoski's excessive attachment to the moderate faction in resolving the conflict and turmoil within the Islamic Religious Community. At one time, that was the reason that he was appointed head of Yugoslav Muslims. It is hard to reliably appraise how the most influential Islamic circles (including those elsewhere in the world) reacted to the meeting between the reis-ul-ulema from Macedonia and Pope John Paul II from Rome. It is speculated, however, that it was an unforgivable debit to his account, because his meeting with the pope was assumed to be linked to the trip by his fellow countrymen, the heads of the so-called Macedonian Orthodox Church, to pay their respects in the papal state. (It appears that national allegiance is not insignificant, even in efforts to create an Islamic state in the Balkans?)

Clearly, analysts will not fail to notice that the man chosen to perform the duties of head (naib-reis-ul-ulema) of the Bosnian Muslims is Dr. Mustafa Ceric, the chief imam of Zagreb and also a professor at the International Institute for Islam Culture and Civilization in Malaysia and associate professor at the Department of Islamic Studies in Sarajevo.

The restoration congress of the Islamic Religious Community of B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina] (of which Dr. Jusuf Ziga, until recently an instructor of Marxism at the Department of Political Science, was elected president) issued a declaration explaining as the reason for autonomy the restoration of the Islamic Religious Community in the republic of B-H from the period prior to 1930, thus establishing its full autonomy and continuity.

However, it is hard to imagine whether there will be any continuity in maintaining relations among the Islamic communities in the former Yugoslav republics, at least at this time when there is no doubt that the differences among Islamic religious leaders are even more pronounced than was assumed. In Belgrade, however, the street interpretation of the departure of reis-el-ulema Jakub Selimoski was that "certainly no one worse than he will come." Do Muslims not think this as well? The word around Sarajevo has long been that Selimoski is better suited for the post as president of the Presidency, i.e., for secular authority, than as a preacher of the idea of spreading Islam and of Islamic states wherever there are Muslims.

Hooray for autonomy. Once again in the territory of the former Yugoslavia!

Serbia

Belgrade TV Defends Report on Draskovic

AU2005153793 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Following a report read on the Dnevnik 2 newscast on Belgrade Television yesterday, 18 May, that the newly-appointed U.S. ambassador to Zagreb used to be in charge of financing his activities, Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement, stated today that this is a blatant lie which people are prosecuted for in all law-governed states.

Following the unpunished lie that the CIA gave me a villa in Switzerland and a number of similar insinuations, I am now being accused of being on the U.S. State Department's payroll, Draskovic writes. Not intending to justify myself or prove my innocence, I would like to state for the sake of the viewers who heard these insinuations last night that I have never, abroad or at home, nor the Serbian Renewal Movement, has received anything from the State Department or any other foreign state, organization, or citizen, Draskovic claims.

Esteemed viewers, the report that we read on our Dnevnik 2 newscast last night does not say that Vuk Draskovic is on the State Department payroll. The editorial board for the newscast cited parts of a TANJUG report transmitted yesterday. After all, let us hear the report we carried last night:

Prior to his appointment as the first U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Croatia, Peter Galbraith used to be a senior expert adviser to the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. He was very active in organizing support to political movements in the former communist countries. He is known as one of the proponents of the idea on the need for total disarmament of the former Yugoslav People's Army. The Serbian-American circles in Washington claim that he is the main coordinator of the financial support for Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement.

Macedonia

Assembly Head Discusses Idea of U.S. Military Presence

LD2005180093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1514 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Skopje, 20 May (TANJUG)—"The idea of U.S. military presence in Macedonia is of great significance to us under the present circumstances, since our republic is still outside the collective security system. It is not a full CSCE member and has no precisely established status and position," Stojan Andov, president of the Assembly of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, told the PULS weekly of Skopje today.

"We believe that it is possible that Macedonia will end up under the NATO umbrella, but its real presence on our territory should be made official through an arrangement with NATO or the United States," Andov said and added that he expects further explanations of the idea behind all of this and agreement from competent organs in Macedonia itself.

Montenegro

President Says Vance-Owen Plan 'No Conspiracy'

LD2105111593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0846 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Podgorica, 21 May (TANJUG)—Following our talks with Russia's Foreign Minister Kozyrev, and in the run-up to the UN Security Council's session, we must try "to unblock the materialization of any possibly positive results in Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to demonstrate that the Vance-Owen plan is no conspiracy, and that this plan and its contents is open to all kinds of modification." President of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic said this to Montenegrin television.

The position which the Serbian Republic has eventually reached through the referendum by saying its resolute "no," and its expectations that the entire world will change are not constructive, Bulatovic said in "The Reflexes Program" last night.

This position cannot lead to anything positive and amounts to disrupting and ending this dialogue. We still have an obligation to try, regardless of the existing differences, to exert our influence on the representatives of the Serbian Republic. They ought to understand that their wishes are heeded, but they also must take into account realities and the fact that the diplomatic process has to be unblocked and continued along this path, since it is the only realistic alternative to military intervention, Bulatovic said.

Bulatovic stressed that over the past few months the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has engaged itself in extensive diplomatic activities, as it wishes to resolve the drama of Bosnia-Herzegovina in a peaceful way. These intense activities support the Vance-Owen plan which, in Bulatovic's words, envisages a number of mechanisms and guarantees that the interests of all three constituent peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina are satisfied to the same extent.

Asked whether Yugoslavia's policy on Bosnia has done a turnabout, Bulatovic gave a negative reply, stressing that this is a matter of continuity in the diplomatic activities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and that since January it has been an active participant in the peace talks in its capacity as a highly committed observer.

In Bulatovic's words, speculation about an alleged turnabout in Yugoslavia's policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina reflects "a radically changing political situation we are experiencing within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

"It is well-known that one powerful and important party, the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], is openly against the Vance-Owen plan, and at the moment this is the only political force not to advocate a diplomatic, peaceful, and sensible approach," Bulatovic said.

Reviewing recent events in Pljevljva (an attack on a coach with forestry plant workers), Bulatovic stressed that the state is duty-bound to react most resolutely to these events. "I am afraid that extreme individuals and groups, mostly from the Republic of Serbia and possibly from our own republic, dissatisfied with Montenegrin and FRY global policies, and obviously eager to continue to wage the war, are trying with their insane activities to spread the war to our region," Bulatovic said.

"I am absolutely sure that they cannot succeed in this, because their strength is negligible in comparison to the strength of democratically oriented citizens of our republic, and in comparison to the strength of a state organization which truly must secure peace for all its citizens. These incidents could cause considerable harm, but they cannot bring about a catastrophe," Bulatovic maintains.

New Montenegro Airline Planned

93BA1000B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 93 p 14

[Interview with Milutin Lalic, director of the Montenegrin Agency for Restructuring, by B. Plamenac; place and date not given: "An Airline About To Be Established"]

[Text] The Republic of Montenegro has decided to form its own airline. Analyses of the economic feasibility have been completed, and this was the occasion for a talk with Milutin Lalic, director of the Agency for Restructuring the Economy in the Government of Montenegro.

[Lalic] Montenegro definitely wants its own airline that would be partly owned by the government of Montenegro. Completion of this project and its review are expected in about a month, and then it goes to the government and ministries for further proceedings.

[Plamenac] Why a Montenegrin airline?

[Lalic] As is well-known, highly developed air transportation is one of the essential prerequisites of any country's economic and social development, and that also applies to Montenegro and its opening up to the world.

We want in that way to make Montenegro interesting for foreign trading partners and to make it a part of the world market on behalf of more effective economic, cultural, and scientific cooperation, above all with neighboring countries. The intensity and organization of transportation in our republic today absolutely cannot meet the requirements of Montenegro, because its only connection is with Belgrade, and highway and rail connections are now slow and unsafe and there are few prospects of improvement for the foreseeable future.

[Plamenac] What air connections are there in Montenegro today?

[Lalic] The network of lines has been constant for some 20 years now; it consists of the lines from Podgorica and Tivat to Belgrade and the earlier lines to Skoplje and Zagreb, with no contacts to world centers. Connections to Italy, with which Montenegro has business, cultural, and tourist ties, have been particularly bad and suboptimal. Today, especially given the new socioeconomic relations in the FRY, Montenegro has the need to develop two basic activities of air transportation, which is carrying business people and the large-scale transport of tourists, which means organizing regular traffic in small planes of the regional type, as well as seasonal charter transportation.

[Plamenac] With what world centers will Podgorica be connected?

[Lalic] Our orientation is for the present to establish regular lines with Italy and Russia, with which there are prospects for strong economic cooperation. In Russia, for example, there are at least about 1,000 people from Montenegro employed in various business arrangements; with Italy, we are even planning two lines to Bari and Milan, because business and traditional ties are being renewed with that country.

[Plamenac] What planes are planned for the initial operation of the Montenegrin air carrier?

[Lalic] Most probably the airplanes of Aviogeneks. The talks are nearing completion, and now it is up to Aviogeneks to make an offer involving planes and flight personnel. We also have bids from several Italian airlines for the leasing of planes or to share in establishment of a future company. As for the rest of the infrastructure which Montenegro has, we feel we would need to improve the conditions of the airports at Podgorica and Tivat. Plans call for modernizing and expanding the terminal, the parking aprons, equipment, and installations, and in particular to establish landing at the Tivat Airport at night. We will also probably be hiring flight personnel and commercial personnel from other airlines, but we do have Montenegrin personnel from whom we will then create the nucleus of future infrastructures.

[Plamenac] Who will be the founder of the new airline?

[Lalic] The initial capital will certainly come from the government of Montenegro in an amount that will assure it authority in management. Incidentally, it is being proposed that the Montenegrin airline not be a government line, but a joint stock company that would have mixed ownership, including investments of foreign capital. We naturally would like JAT [Yugoslav Air Transport] to be one of the founders. Others might be Al Italia, Air Montenegro, Jugopetrol-Kotor, Budvanska Rivijera, Montenegroturist, Monteks, and many other private firms, and indeed even individuals through the purchase of shares.

[Plamenac] What will your company be called?

[Lalic] We do not know for the present, but in any case it will have Montenegro in its name.

Kosovo

Army, Police Report Kosovo 'Stable'

LD2005221693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2156 GMT 20 May 93

[Text] Pristina, May 20 (TANJUG)—The situation in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo-Metohija (Kosmet) is stable and there are no signals of any unrest in the

region, representatives of the Yugoslav Army and Serbian Interior Ministry said on Thursday [20 May] in a conversation in the provincial capital Pristina with a group of Yugoslav and foreign reporters.

Yugoslav Army Pristina Corps commander, Major General Milovan Bojovic, said no amassing of Albanian troops near that country's border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had been recorded, nor was there any by Yugoslav troops on this side of the border.

Bojovic said attemps to smuggle weapons across the borders were being prevented successfully. He added that Yugoslav border guards had come under attack on a number of occasions.

Senior Serbian police official Marinko Kresoja also said that the situation in the province was stable.

Ethnic conflicts are at a minimum, and violations of law and order are falling in number, he said.

A strong separatist movement of Kosmet's ethnic Albanians, who make up the majority population in the province, has for more than a decade been actively seeking the formation of a republic of Kosovo and its subsequent secession from Yugoslavia and merger with neighbouring Albania.

The establishment of 'parallel authorities' will not be tolerated, Kresoja said.

Ethnic Albanian separatists, who are boycotting Serbia's public and political life, two years ago formed their own illegal parliament and government.

Army Commander Denies Troop Concentration on Border

AU2005194893 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 May 93

[Report by Zeljko Avramovic from Pristina]

[Text] [Avramovic] Addressing reporters, Major General Milan Bojevic, commander of the Pristina Corps, stressed that the most important task of the Yugoslavian Army units in Kosovo-Metohija is to protect the state border with Albania. Attempts to illegally cross this state border, smuggle arms, and attack the border units have become more frequent. Discussing the security situation on the border, Bojevic said:

[Bojevic] The security situation on the Albanian border is favorable. Therefore, there are no specific problems. We are successfully protecting the border. We know the situation on their territory, too. Therefore, the situation is normal.

[Reporter] Are the troops concentrating, are Albanian troops concentrating on the other side?

[Bojevic] No.

[Reporter] What about on our side?

[Bojevic] No. There is no need for our troops to be there.

[Avramovic] Bojevic stressed that the Albanian nationalists' claim that the Yugoslavian Army is occupying Kosovo-Metohija is incorrect and malicious, because the main task of the Yugoslav soldiers is to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the freedom and rights of its citizens, regardless of nationality.

After the meeting with the commander of the Pristina Corps, reporters observed attended maneuvers by the Pristina Corps units. A meeting and talks with the representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia are planned for the evening.

Bukoshi Asks for Province To Be Excluded From Sanctions

AU2005141993 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No. 95 in English 14 May 93

[Unattributed report: "Dr. Bujar Bukoshi Calls For Exclusion of Kosova From Sanctions"]

[Text] In a statement given to this week's edition of the ZERI magazine of Prishtina, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, prime minister of the republic of Kosova, calls for the exclusion of Kosova from the international sanctions imposed on Serbia and Montenegro. In the statement he says: "We have been telling the international community that this punishment of Kosova and the Albanians is unjust and absurd and will surely raise tensions and danger of conflict." Dr. Bukoshi states that the "classic occupation by Serbia" was bad enough for Kosova, and that the sanctions have further deteriorated the situation. "Life in Kosova has been reduced to mere vegetation," Bukoshi said, adding that the Albanians in Kosova have been able to survive only thanks to wonderful solidarity of the Albanians themselves, "a solidarity which has grown to become and epos."

Dr. Bukoshi further added that his government has been urging for securing a corridor for humanitarian relief for Kosova.